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WEEKLY PEOPLE



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PRICE TWO CENTS

FREE SPEECH

Lib State Historical Soc

Though Beaten Down by the Appellate Division of the Court of Appeals Will be Insisted On by the S. L. P.

The case of John E. Wallace, Edmund Lake and Clinton H. Pierce, Socialist Labor Party speakers, who were arrested and fined in Amsterdam, N. Y., came up the end of last month on appeal before the Appellate Division of the Court of Appeals, where the judgment was sustained, Judge Parker dissenting. The decision evades the point, and thereby gives encouragement to law-breaking policemen and constables to suppress the speech that would enlighten the workers and cause them to overthrow the system it is bearing them down.

But that matters not. Should the alleged "guardians of the law" again try to violate it, measures will be adopted in time to enable an appeal to be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States. In the meantime, the two able briefs of Counsellor Benjamin Patterson, the attorney for the S. L. P., are worth reading by all. Here they are:

I.
SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

A.
It seems that the argument of the learned District Attorney is to the effect that, although these defendants had a right to make a political speech, they should have desisted when the police told them to, and that the refusal of the speakers to do so was an act which "seriously endangered the public peace."

The police of the City of Amsterdam, or any other city in the State, have no right to suppress free speech in that manner or to destroy the constitutional right of citizens to peaceably assemble and discuss public questions, by imputing to such citizens the disorderly acts of others, over whom they have no control and for whose acts they are not responsible. If the courts uphold such a contention on the part of the police it virtually nullifies the constitution, and makes of us a government of policemen, by policemen.

B.
There is no evidence in this case showing any other acts on the part of the defendants than the making of a political speech at a political meeting of the Socialist Labor Party.

It makes no difference what the defendants were charged with, the question is what were they guilty of?

The learned District Attorney in his brief (page 11) states the following:

"The defendants, who were members of the Socialist Labor Party, had a right to hold a meeting at which to advocate the principles of their political faith, equal to that of members of any other party to hold a meeting of like nature. Their privileges were no less in this regard, and their duty to their fellow-men and the public were no less. The unlawful acts with which the defendants were charged did not consist of holding a political meeting and making a political speech therat. They were charged with annoying and interfering with various persons by offensive and disorderly acts and language, and committing acts which seriously endangered the public peace."

"What other act or acts were proved? What disorderly act or language was proved? None whatever. Their only offense was peacefully addressing their fellow citizens in a political campaign. If the police or if any disorderly person or persons disturbed the meeting their offense cannot possibly be ascribed to defendants. Suppose a Republican or Democratic speaker was addressing an audience and a Socialist or Socialists assaulted the speaker or any person in the audience, would that be the crime of the speaker?"

Counsel for the people further says: "They were charged with annoying and interfering with various persons by offensive and disorderly acts and language and committing acts which seriously endangered the public peace," but what the "offensive and disorderly acts and language" which "seriously endangered the public peace" were, counsel for the people fails to point out in his brief.

There is nothing in the evidence to show that any remarks of the defendants tended to inflame the crowd or engender disorder. In fact, the speeches of the defendants were the conventional political

of the citizens who may assemble to listen to said speaker or who may approve or disapprove of the views of the candidate or the principles that he maintains or espouses, or is the question one subject to regulation by the officers of any town or city, or subject to the permission of any public officer?

In the case at bar there is no evidence showing that any person, officer or official had power to grant permits, or any ordinance prohibiting such act.

IT HAS NEVER BEEN HELD IN THIS OR ANY OTHER STATE THAT MAKING A POLITICAL SPEECH WAS A NUISANCE PER SE.

The objects of political meetings is to reach the masses. The open streets are alone available for large gatherings. No building can contain all those whom the political leaders wish to reach. Hence, from time immemorial the open-air political meeting has been allowed. Street parades are a familiar example of the gathering of crowds in the public streets. The routes of such parades are often lined with people in such numbers that the ordinary traffic is obstructed, not alone by the paraders, but also by the onlookers, who block the sidewalks.

Cooley's Constitutional Limitations, p. 518, thus describes the right of free speech and the only liability which arises therefrom, to-wit:

"The constitutional liberty of speech and of the press, as we understand it, implies a right to freely utter and publish whatever the citizen may please and to be protected against any responsibility for so doing, except so far as such publications, from their blasphemy, obscenity or scandalous character, may be a public offense, or as, by their falsehood and malice, they may injuriously affect the standing, reputation or pecuniary interests of individuals. . . . Liberty of speech implies not only liberty to publish, but complete immunity from legal censure and punishment for the publication, so long as it is not harmful in its character when tested by such standards as the law affords. For these standards we usually look to the common law rules which were in force when the constitutional guarantees were established, and in reference to which they have been adopted."

"The proper use of a street for the passage of a procession or the reasonable celebration of a great public event is not necessarily a nuisance, even though in violation of orders issued by the Mayor or other public functionary."—Wood on Nuisances, third edition, p. 60.

The Mayor or other public functionary, nor the Legislature, could declare the making of a political speech by a candidate for the Supreme Court to be a public nuisance.

Colon v. Lisk, 153 N. Y., p. 107, and cases cited.

"Making a political speech on a public street is not per se a nuisance."

Fairbanks v. Kerr, 70 Penn., St. 86.

The decisions in this State recognize the right of individuals temporarily to obstruct public streets when engaged in lawful occupations or acts, and that no crime or nuisance is thereby committed.

Callahan v. Gilman, 107 N. Y., p. 360, and cases cited.

From time immemorial and ever since the formation of our government parties have held political meetings in the highways and squares of villages and towns and cities throughout the United States and the Colonies. Never before have such meetings been held to be unlawful. They are what is known in law as "usual," and the use by political parties of the public streets and highways are known in law as "usual."

As was said by the Court of Appeals recently in the recent case of Robert v. Powell, 108 N. Y. 411: "The question involved is whether the object complained of is usual, reasonable or necessary in the use of the street by any one." (See cases there cited.)

The people, when desirous of holding a political meeting of the regular constitutional parties, recognized as such in the State, to listen to the candidates—their views, opinions and promises—have a right to assemble in the streets and squares for that purpose, and the use of such streets and squares, under the well-settled principles of law, is usual and reasonable.

The defendants have been complained of for alleged violation of Section 675 of the Penal Code, which is headed, "Acts Not Expressly Forbidden." This section is said to be an attempt to cover crimes existing at common law and not otherwise defined in the Penal Code.

By its terms, Section 675 applies only to cases "for which no other punishment is prescribed by this code."

Now, if we look at the other sections of the Penal Code we find that it does provide in express terms for the punishment of certain offenses. For example, Section 385 defines a public nuisance as an act which "annoys, injures or endangers the comfort, repose, health or safety of any considerable number of persons"; or "offends public decency or unlawfully in a public park, street or highway, or in obstructs, interferes with or tends to obstruct or render dangerous for passage any way renders a considerable number

of persons insecure in life or the use of property."

Section 387 makes such public nuisance a misdemeanor, and Sections 448, 449, 450 and 451 of the Penal Code define the punishment for disturbing of lawful meeting, and for riots and unlawful assemblies.

Sections 450 and 451 are expressly directed against inciting a meeting to resist the laws of the United States or of the State, or to obstruct any public officer of the national or State governments, or to acts of force and violence, and against meetings with intent to disturb the public peace or tending to a breach of the peace or injury to person or property, and every person participating therein, by his presence, aid or instructions, is declared guilty and punishable.

But these sections are not made the basis of this charge. The information is, therefore, defective in charging a violation of the indefinite omnibus Section 675, which does not specify what acts shall be considered as endangering peace or health or decency.

The contention of the District Attorney that because public speaking draws a large crowd makes it an obstruction of the street, and therefore unlawful, is untenable. As was said in Collman v. Gilman, 107 N. Y., 367: "It is true necessity justifies actions which would be otherwise unlawful. It is true also that this necessity need not be absolute; it is enough of it be reasonable. No man has a right to throw wood or stones into the street at his pleasure; but, inasmuch as fuel is necessary, a man may throw it in the street for the purpose of having it carried to his house, and it may lay there a reasonable time. So, because building is necessary, stones, bricks, lime, sand and other materials may be placed in the streets, provided it is done in the most convenient manner."

If the streets can be obstructed temporarily when necessary for material purposes, how much stronger is the contention that the streets can temporarily be used for the public welfare, for is not the discussion of public questions by candidates preceding elections, in public streets for the public welfare?

The Court of Appeals, in Colon v. Lisk, page 197, says: "Equal rights and impartial tribunals to enforce them are the results which are intended to be secured by the establishment of constitutional limitations to legislative power. Under the mere guise of a statute to protect against wrong the legislature cannot arbitrarily strike down private rights and invade personal freedom. The police power must be exercised within its appropriate sphere and by appropriate methods. This power can be exercised only to promote the public good."

As discussion of public questions by public candidates is absolutely necessary for the preservation of republican institutions, it seems absurd to maintain that in the exercise of these functions, duties and rights a temporary obstruction of the street in so doing is not reasonable.

If, for instance, the police had arrested one of the persons who threw stones at the speaker and yelled "pull him off the box," would he not have been properly arrested for violating Section 448 of the Penal Code?

The only offenders at the meeting were the persons who threw stones and yelled "pull him off the box" and the police, all of whom violated Section 448 of the Penal Code.

The judgment of the court should be reversed and the defendants discharged.

Benjamin Patterson,
Counsel for Defendants.

II.

SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

The learned District Attorney contends:

First—That an assembly of fifty or seventy persons in a public street, listening to a political speaker at a political meeting, although an orderly gathering, "might easily constitute an improper diversion."

Second—Whether it is or is not an improper diversion, such a gathering was a hindrance to "free and unmolested travel" within the purview of the ordinance.

Third—Notwithstanding complete obstruction was not the result of this orderly gathering of fifty or seventy people, listening to a political speech, yet it somewhat impeded, checked, or retarded travel, and consequently, even if the defendant had a constitutional right to make a political speech at an orderly political assembly of citizens, it must be exercised in such a way that it will not interfere with the right of the public to the free use of the streets.

A.

The first proposition needs no argument to refute it. It is self-evidently fallacious.

The second is so narrow, technical and erroneous that were it not for the fact that all the officials of the City of Amsterdam seem to think that any conduct toward the suppression of a minority party is justified and logical, counsel for the appellant would not discuss the same.

It might just as well be contended by the learned District Attorney that a large number of people emerging en masse from church on Sundays in the City of Amsterdam were violating the ordinance, because they hindered "free and unmolested travel" to those citizens walking along the sidewalk at right angles to the emerging mass of people pouring out of the church. He might just as well argue that the church of people should remain inside of the edifice and pass out one at a time, at such intervals as would not hinder "free and unmolested travel."

The judgment of the County Court should be reversed and defendant discharged.

Callahan v. Gilman, 107 N. Y. 360.
Robert v. Powell, 108 N. Y. 411.
In Callahan v. Gilman, supra, the court says: "It is true necessity justifies actions which would be otherwise unlawful. It is true also that the necessity need not be absolute; it is enough of it be reasonable. No man has a right to throw wood or stones into the street at his pleasure; but, inasmuch as fuel is necessary, a man may throw it in the street for the purpose of having it carried to his house, and it may lay there a reasonable time. So, because building is necessary, stones, bricks, lime, sand and other materials may be placed in the streets, provided it is done in the most convenient manner."

The courts of this State recognize the right of individuals to obstruct public streets when engaged in lawful occupations or acts, and that no crime or nuisance is thereby committed.

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In Callahan v. Gilman, supra, the court says: "It is true necessity justifies actions which would be otherwise unlawful. It is true also that the necessity need not be absolute; it is enough of it be reasonable. No man has a right to throw wood or stones into the street at his pleasure; but, inasmuch as fuel is necessary, a man may throw it in the street for the purpose of having it carried to his house, and it may lay there a reasonable time. So, because building is necessary, stones, bricks, lime, sand and other materials may be placed in the streets, provided it is done in the most convenient manner."

As discussion of public questions by candidates of regular political parties, or by others, is absolutely necessary for the preservation of republican institutions, it seems absurd to maintain that in the exercise of these functions, duties and rights a temporary obstruction of the street in so doing is not reasonable and at times necessary. Otherwise, one party could hire all the halls in a town—there usually being very few in small cities such as Amsterdam—and thus force the opposite party to hold its political meetings in the street, to be suppressed by the complacent police.

The right of the people peacefully to assemble for lawful purposes existed long before the adoption of the constitution of the United States. In fact, it is and always has been one of the attributes of citizenship under a free government. It derives its source, to use the language of Justice Marshall in Gibbons v. Ogden, 9 Wheat. 211, "from those laws whose authority is acknowledged by civilized man throughout the world." It is found wherever civilization exists.

United States v. Cruikshank, 92 U. S. 542.

In reply to the third proposition, we assert that in exercising the constitutional right of assembling in the street, in holding an orderly political meeting, the public is not deprived of the free use of the streets. If a person cannot pass with the same facility that he is wont to do when no political meeting is held, it is a loss of that degree of comfort which every citizen must lose in a civilized society. It is a surrender for the public good and welfare, and cannot be lawfully considered an annoyance to him within the purview of the ordinance. The annoyance there referred to is one which no citizen is bound to submit to. A citizen—man, woman or child—who must leave the sidewalk in the City of Amsterdam to go out on that part of the highway set aside for horses, etc., because a citizen is having a load of coal dumped on the sidewalk in front of his house, and is taking it into his house, cannot maintain that such a citizen is violating the ordinance and annoys him or her. Neither can such person claim that the lawful assemblage of persons listening to the candidate of a political party before the election, comes under the purview of such ordinance.

The response was such as filled each patriotic heart with pride, for, flocking from each city and shire of the motherland came "Duke's sons and Cook's sons" to maintain the noble cause. Imperial hearts were also stirred beyond the seas, and hastening to the battle came legions from Canadian prairies of the north, as well as those who lived beneath the Southern Cross; in thousands strong they gathered to do battle with this cruel, hated for and enemy of liberty, progress and justice. The strife was long, arduous and bloody, but, as usual, victory rested with the strongest battalions and heaviest purse. The two republics were crushed beneath the iron heel of conquest, and the blessings of British law and justice were bestowed on the oppressed people. It shall be our task to inquire how those blessings are operating, and what they have replaced.

A retrospective view of the question will be profitable in bringing out some of the lessons which should be impressed in connection with this struggle.

From the beginning of the struggle for supremacy between Dutch and English in South Africa, the element of capitalistic oppression, on the one hand, under English protection and Dutch obstinacy and aversion to such methods, on the other, played a considerable part. But wherever capitalism finds favorable fields for its operations conditions must be created suitable to its needs. The medieval methods of the Dutch oligarchy in the republics of the Orange Free State and Transvaal, were not suitable for the exploitation methods of English capitalists, and consequently they must be overthrown. The means by which this was accomplished were varied and occupied considerable time. The Transvaal Republic, which was founded in 1854 by malcontents from the adjoining colonies, which were annexed by the British, and would succeed in their own way of life and government if left to themselves. It, however, paid British merchants and traders to supply the natives on their borders plentifully with arms and gunpowder, which kept the tribes continually at war with the British, which would act as in other places favorable to the interests of capital.

First, as regards immigration to Africa, it has been discovered to be no land for Europeans in great numbers to settle in. The climate is good, but the soil in many places is not suitable for agriculture, irrigation being necessary in many parts, which is too costly for all that can be obtained for the products obtained. Markets are limited for agricultural and dairy products, except in a few commercial and mining centers. So immigration as foreshadowed not materializing, expanding markets which are required, and wages remain as formerly or with a downward tendency.

Hence the disappointed wail in the capitalist press over South African immigration and colonization.

The lament also expressed in the capitalist press regarding the condition of the labor market in South Africa reveals a source of much disappointment. The war, if successful, was expected to establish British influence in the economic field, which would act as in other places favorable to the interests of capital.

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LABOR'S LESSON

From The South African War—Capitalism and Patriotism
On Exhibition

was prevailed upon to stand over his suffering people to the kind protection of the British. In consideration for which he received a handsome pension and quarters at Cape Town for the remainder of his days, paid out of British money. This was in the early days of the republic. The burghers, however, were not agreeable to this barter, and so regained, after some time and trouble, their independence again. But there was too much gold to be mined within the limits of the Republic to enable the authorities to govern the land in peace. The London Stock Exchange could not get a full and satisfactory return out of the mines while they were under Dutch administration. The mine owners were unwilling to be hampered with such restrictions in connection with their labor as the authorities of the republic choose to impose, and they could not consent to a continuance of the Dutch royalty. Under these conditions the mine owners would not consent to enlarge their operations, and enlargement must be entered upon; so the only course left was to set aside Dutch authority and raise the British flag over those possessions. The story of the Jameson raid and what it indicated is still remembered by those who have observed the trend of events in those parts.

Rhodesia, where the full benefits of British freedom was established, lay to the north of the two republics. In this land native labor was cheap, in consequence of the imposition of a hut tax, which all native hut owners had to pay under the law. Or, in other words, a system of slavery existed under this method which compelled the natives to labor or be homeless. This general system of serfdom was of great service in procuring a plentiful supply of native labor for the mines of British capitalists in Rhodesia. Such a system was desirable in the Transvaal, but Paul Kruger, the tyrant, would not assent to it as profitable as it might be under this British system in Rhodesia. With those facts so well known to the British capitalist, it is small wonder that he waxed patriotic and vowed vengeance

THE BUILDING TRADES

Authorized Agents for the People

Recent developments in trade union affairs in New York city more than ever go to prove the correctness of the attitude of the S. L. P. and S. T. & L. A. and the truth of the contention that the exigencies of the process of capitalist development and concentration lead to the using of the pure and simple unions through their corrupt leaders, the "labor lieutenants," as Mark Hanna correctly styled them, by one set of capitalists in their fight against another set who happen to be their competitors.

Another thing proven by the unsavory developments and events of recent date, is the applicability of the S. L. P. criticism of the fraternizing, toadying and cringing on the part of the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist" party members, in their relations with the pure and simple fakirs whom they know to be hopelessly corrupt.

To understand the conditions in the building trades, the progress made in the past four and five years in the methods of conducting that industry must be taken into consideration. The construction of a modern skyscraper or other large building requires the labor of men belonging to more than twenty-five distinct crafts. Up to less than five years ago practically all the building was done on the old-fashioned plan of subletting the various divisions of the work to as many sub-contractors, a structural iron-worker for the frame, a mason builder for the mason work, a master carpenter for carpenter work, and so on with painters, plasterers, marble workers, etc. If a general contractor made an attempt to erect a building of any size without dealing with subcontractors, he found that the middlemen stood in with the unions and the labor fakirs and thus controlled the situation so thoroughly that the general contractor who had the temerity to attempt to ignore them could not secure enough union men to start the job, or if he got started would have so much trouble made for him that he could not proceed with any degree of success. It is related of one such general builder who tried the experiment of hiring all the men of the various trades directly without the intervention of the sub-contractors, in the building of one of the big department stores erected on Sixth avenue in the early nineties, that he was so hampered as to be driven into bankruptcy by the time the job was finished.

So many strikes occurred on the job that the completion of the work was delayed long beyond the time called for in the contract. The control of the union "leaders" by the subcontractors had put him out of business.

The viciousness of capitalism and the corruption-breeding influences of its competitive warfare is well illustrated by the manner in which the exigencies of the business rivalry between the small contractors themselves led to the corrupting of the pure and simple unions. The latter, of course, founded on false principles, nurtured in ignorance, untrained in any knowledge of class interests or class solidarity, and entrusting the conduct of their affairs to equally ignorant and often vicious "leaders" and walking delegates, were an easy prey. When a general builder sublet the various divisions of his work, this rivalry among the subcontractors naturally led to the cutting down of the estimates in their bids to the lowest possible margin. How, then, was the successful bidder to secure the profits to get which he had gone into the business? One way was to cause the job to be extended by discovering that a lot of "extra" work was to be done, more than had been called for in the contract, out of which profits could be made. To work this game the co-operation of the unions was necessary.

But all this was contrary to the interests of the general contractors, who often suffered through failure to have contractors finished on time. However, they were powerless to help themselves while conditions remained as they were. That they could remain so would be inconsistent with the logical trend of capitalist development, and here is where twentieth century capitalism steps in to supersede the methods and traditions of its nineteenth century predecessor with an up-to-date organization and system applied the building business, by which it is fast becoming completely revolutionized. Big construction companies, with financial backing running into tens of millions of dollars, were formed with the purpose of placing the industry on a similar footing to that of other great industries. The sheer power of their millions enabled them to sweep away the obstacles which formerly prevented the lone general builder from hiring workmen direct. The biggest and strongest ones soon had their affairs down to the same scientific basis as the regulation trustified industry. Middlemen and outside bosses, whose existence formerly added so much to the cost and length of time of constructing buildings, were almost entirely obliterated, nearly every man on the job except the marble workers, who are still in the hands of separate bosses,

was employed directly by the company, which had its own superintendents and foremen, and not only were all these on the one payroll, but it is well understood by those on the inside that walking delegates and labor fakirs were also placed under the same protecting wing, as soon as the big companies discovered that they were being used by the small contractors to hamper their big competitors. The latter at once proceeded to beat the little fellows at their own game, and presently one of the largest concerns, the George A. Fuller Construction Company, one of the biggest in the country and one that has succeeded to a greater extent than the rest in almost absolutely eliminating the middleman from its contracts, began to boast of its "harmonious relations" with the trade unions. The actions of this big firm during the mudfie that has existed in the building trades ever since the beginning of the row between the Brotherhood Carpenters and the Amalgamated, against whom the former went on strike in the early spring, are worthy of observation by anyone desirous of correctly understanding the situation.

Here, it may be well to point out that the Fuller concern has ramifications extending to many of the larger cities of the country—Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, Albany, St. Louis, Washington, Baltimore and Pittsburg—wherein they have thousands of men at work upon the construction of buildings for which they have secured contracts, which, by the way, are a fruitful source of profits, calculated to more than offset any loss they might sustain through any delays experienced in this city. The majority of their rivals, on the other hand, are merely local firms, and the smaller ones among them find the protracted tie-up a severe strain upon their finances.

When the Brotherhood of Carpenters started its war against the Amalgamated Society, and the real force behind this fight has yet to be revealed, all the construction companies found their work greatly hampered. Both sets of carpenters were union men, and both belonged to the American Federation of Labor; but the leaders of each declared that the other crowd must be annihilated. The result was a mix-up that partially paralyzed the building work of the city. The Amalgamated Society, though numerically smaller than its rival, was affiliated with the United Board of Building Trades, while the Brotherhood was not. This Board, composed of walking delegates of the various unions, declared its intention of standing by the Amalgamated and refusing to recognize the members of the Brotherhood. This, of course, intensified the struggle, and here is where the Fuller Company's "harmonious relations" with the unions served it well. According to the published reports at the time, its jobs were almost the only ones upon which any work was being done, it having expressed its willingness to employ only Amalgamated men supplied by the board. Later, when the carpenter racket had about subsided and the bosses were beginning to feel sure of a continuance of operations, the newly organized teamsters and building material drivers, who had been admitted to the United Board, made demands for better conditions and the recognition of their union. In the forming of these new unions and their admission to the United Board the various bosses scented a new danger from the additional power it lent the board to cause a general tie-up, and the same instinct of self-preservation that formerly kept them apart now prompted the various contractors, as well as lumber and material dealers from whom they received their supplies, to come together for mutual protection. The result was the formation of the Building Trades Employers' Association, composed of representatives of associations of the different trades.

The one notable exception to this move was the George A. Fuller Construction Company. All its rivals, including the big concern known as the Thompson-Starratt Company, were in the bosses' union, and a unit in approving the demand of the Lumber Dealers' Association, that the Board of Building Trades expel and repudiate the drivers, promising to bring the tie-up to an end if the men would work with material hauled by non-union teams.

The tie-up now was caused by the refusal of the Lumber Dealers' Association and the association formed by building material men, the brickyards, the cement, plaster and lath men, to allow their yards to be unionized. The result was that the two associations locked out their 4,000 employees, and declared that not a stick of timber nor a brick should be supplied to a building in Manhattan and the Bronx. In this they were backed by the national associations. Incidental to this was the strike of nearly 2,000 structure ironworkers because of a fight between unions of engineers, and later it was intensified by the strike and lockout of inside ironworkers, employees of the iron works of New York and vicinity.

A committee of the United Board of Building Trades agreed to bring the question of withdrawing their support from the "unskilled" team drivers before the board. This was the incident that caused the division of "labor forces" as represented by the walking delegates.

Following this a great display of "solidarity" and readiness to stand by the so-called unskilled men was made by the majority of the delegates of the Board, including as one of their most aggressive members, Sam Parks, of the Houssmiths and Bridgemen, who had formerly been a trusted employee and foreman for the Fuller Company.

The minority of the delegates "accepted" the proposition of the bosses and resented the action of their "brothers" of the supposed solidarity-displaying propensities, declaring they would not stand for being locked out for the sake of a lot of "unskilled" team drivers. This brought about a split board, the minority, representing sixteen "skilled" trades, seceding and forming the Board of Building Mechanics; the majority, representing twenty trades, remaining with the old board, to which it was reported two seceders later returned, mainly, it was said, through the efforts of Parks. The "skilled" seceders agreed to handle material irrespective of who hauled it, and the announcement was made that all the yards would be opened by June 12, and in this connection the following from a news item of June 10 is worthy of note as an illustration of the anarchistic hatred of the working class indulged in by "law and order" upholding capitalists:

"The Labor Committee of the New York Lumber Dealers' Association, whose aggressive action in locking out the drivers really brought the tie-up to an end, was at its headquarters to-day, and announced its intention of staying there until operations were in full swing once more. 'We are not looking for trouble,' said Vice-President James Shropshire Davis; 'but if any comes along, we are going to be on hand for our share.'

"Are you prepared to meet any attempt at interference?" he was asked.

"We are in close touch with each yard in the association; also with the district attorney's office and with the police. At the first move of any one to check us we will act. We mean to settle this business once and for all, and would like nothing better than to wind the whole matter up with a good, stiff demonstration of the power of the law."

This did not mend matters much, however, as new complications arose, and the weeks were slipping by with the tie-up still general, except on a number of the big buildings being erected by the Fuller Co. While in this plight, the Employers' Association conceived a bold plan, by which they hoped to kill a whole flock of birds with one stone; they would eliminate the walking delegate, remove the necessity of having to "cough up," and establish a system that would be a guarantee against strikes in the future. Their plan lay in exposing the walking delegate and his methods, and appealing to the rank and file to accept their proposition for an arbitration scheme in which the obnoxious business agent would not be a factor.

To this end, with Parks as the scapegoat, they proceeded to file charges of extortion and howl for District Attorney Jerome to do his duty in the

matter of exposing the crookedness recognized to be rampant in the labor movement in New York City. A circular was gotten up by the Board of Governors and distributed broadcast to the rank and file of the workmen.

The principle effect this had upon the rank and file of the unions was to further confuse them and put them all at sea. Many of them, not knowing what to think of the whole situation, or how best to act to get out of the muddle. This in itself is one of the worst and saddest results of the training or lack of it received by the dupes of pure and simple trades unionism. Ignorant of the underlying causes of the economic development of the age, and thus blind to a great extent to the very existence of such development, or, if they do see it, for the same reasons, unable to understand it, kept continually in this state of mental confusion by the fakirs, who, trading on their ignorance, throw dust in their eyes by telling them to keep politics (working class politics, of course), out of their unions, except when those fakirs are doing the dirty work of the professional politicians by boozing some capitalist candidate as a "friend of labor," at so much per booz; their spirit of resistance, that undeveloped germ of class-consciousness that is latent within them, exploited by the fakir when a strike is necessary to his or his master's interest, the untrained rank and file are knocked about like shuttlecocks between the battle-axes of competing capitalists and graft-hunting fakirs.

In this connection a vast field opens up before the intelligent, aggressive members of the Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, whose very knowledge of the necessity of educating the rest of the workers on correct lines must force make them see that its tilling is imperative. The spirit of resistance, the latent class-consciousness of the workers, must be aroused but trained in the right direction. The right kind of literature must be put into their hands; the Daily, Weekly and Monthly People, must be spread among them; a

knowledge of correct principles of organization, on political and economic lines, such as are only possessed by the S. L. P. and Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance must be diffused in their ranks and those bodies built up if anything is to be hoped for from them in the way of united action along proper lines.

About the time the howl was going up against what was looked upon as a threatened attempt to force the unions to agree to the arbitration scheme, and confusion of sentiments in relation to the mix-up gave every indication of the tie-up being prolonged, the hoisting engineers declared a strike of their men. As this hampered the work on the Fuller job which had been going on all those weeks while their rivals were tied up, it furnished the company with an excuse for joining the general lockout, of course without becoming a member of the bosses' organization.

The news items of June 17 contained the following:

"President S. P. McConnell, of the George A. Fuller Construction Company, which stopped work to-day on all of the big buildings which it has under construction, hereby throwing out of work about ten thousand men, denied to-day that the company had instituted a lockout as a result of any agreement with the Building Trades Employers' Association, of which it is not a member. Judge McConnell, when seen at the main office of the company, 137 Broadway, to-day said:

"We have never concealed the fact that our sympathies are with the employers' association, but nevertheless our action in stopping work to-day was not the result of any arbitrary agreement with the members of the association. We stopped work to-day for two good reasons: First, because the engineers were on strike and we couldn't get any hoisting done; second, because several of the

building trades organizations have been raising the rates of wages. We believe it will be unprofitable to continue the work at the increased cost of construction which the arbitrary demand for higher wages would entail. I would not venture to say how long our enterprises will remain at a standstill; but in the circumstances it is useless to attempt to continue. No other builders seem able to stem the tide of increased wages and arbitrary demands of walking delegates."

The executive committee of the George A. Fuller Company consists of the following: James Stillman, Hugh J. Grant, Henry Morgenthau, H. S. Black, S. P. McConnell, Bradish Dowling, Albert Flake and Robert E. Dowling."

Of course this company is willing now to see the walking delegate put out of business if the other fellows can do so through the medium of the arbitration plan, and it is not unlikely it would be willing to see the suspension of work continue indefinitely, because it would in the end redound to its benefit. It is but a present trifling inconvenience to it while the strain upon some of its petty rivals is a telling one.

There is another incident in connection with the competition of the construction companies, not generally known, which will be of interest to the student of present-day occurrences, and help to throw some additional light on this particular corner of the field of capitalist concentration and the methods employed therein.

The name of the United States Realty and Construction Company has not previously been mentioned in this story for the reason that it and the Fuller Company are made up of the same interests. Note the names mentioned above and you will see among them such men as the Standard Oil magnate, James Stillman, of the City Bank; Henry Morganthau, of the Central Realty and Trust Company, of which Stillman is a director, and others, connected with the biggest railroad, oil and other interests. It is but natural that such men would foster schemes for the eventual building up of a Building Trust in conjunction with their steel, oil and railroad monopolies. So, when they saw the success of the Fuller Company they organized the U. S. Realty and Construction Company, with a backing of nearly \$100,000,000, thus making the Fuller and others that may be absorbed later, subsidiary with the U. S. as the central power. So far the Fuller company is practically the whole.

The incident referred to relates to the struggle with its greatest rival—the Thompson-Starratt Company. The Fuller company, through the Stillman end, has an agreement with the Steel Trust by which it is said to have a big advantage over all competitors in the matter of getting its steel and iron, but in New York has no grip on the local lumber trade. On the other hand, Thompson, who is alleged to be largely interested in lumber concerns shipping to the local market, while at a disadvantage on steel, was appointed by Mayor Low through political influence to succeed Perez M. Stewart, as Superintendent of Buildings. This gave him and his assistants the drop on the Fullers and others in the matter of passing on lumber coming from outside interests, if they chose to so use their positions. Before long, however, a protest, said to have been worked up by S. T. & L. A. that the eyes of the workers may be opened and their fighting spirit trained in the right direction.

Hopper refused to pay the money and took the matter before the United Board of Building Trades. He says he stated the case, but did not tell that Carvel wanted money for himself. On February 12, he alleges, he met Carvel, who demanded \$900, saying that as Hopper had taken the matter before the Board there were more men to "fix." On the 13th of February, Hopper says, he went to the saloon at Fifty-fourth street and Third avenue and met Carvel. He had with him nine \$100 bills which he tendered to the business agent. He says that Carvel would not take the money, but told him to give it to the bartender.

Carvel said: "Oh, that's all right, thousands of dollars have been received by the bartender in the same way." Hopper says that Carvel then went to the telephone and gave orders that settled the strike, and the men were all back at work in a few days.

District Attorney Jerome was at that time hearing some remarkable stories of "grafting" by walking delegates of unions to call strikes on or off. One of the most barefaced of these transactions is that in connection with a strike on the Union Club building, in which the "graft" amounted to some \$17,000. This story, as told by Jerome, is as follows:

"In the fall of 1902 the Amalgamated Painters and Decorators' Union, which was represented in the Board of Building Trades, made a demand for increased wages and shorter hours for the men employed by the contractors doing work on the Union Club building. The employers refused the demands and a strike followed.

"The employers, most of them, cabinet-makers and decorators, then got together and tried to devise some way by which the work could be finished. They finally decided that the best way would be to build up the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators, which is national association. They knew a struggle would follow any work, because it was not represented in the Board of Building Trades. A general strike on their other work would follow any such attempt.

"They decided that it was absolutely necessary to get the Brotherhood represented in the Board of Building Trades. The president of the Brotherhood, J. C. Bahillorn, of Lafayette, Ind., came here to talk the matter over with the employers and agreed, on behalf of the Brotherhood, to subscribe \$2,500 to a fund to be used to pay the proper people to get the Brotherhood represented in the Board. After this offer had been made, an officer of the employers' association, one of the leading cabinet-makers in this town, took each one of the seventeen employers interested aside and got each one to agree to pay \$250 toward this fund, which was to be used to get the Brotherhood on the board. I should say that fifteen of the seventeen employers agreed to do this. The other two positively refused.

"At this time the Union Club itself contributed a sum, which I shall not name, to this same fund. The entire money was handled by one of the head cabinet makers and by a construction company in this city. Most of the money was paid to these handlers in checks.

"About this time the officers of the Brotherhood notified the employers that they would have to withdraw their offer to pay \$2,500 toward the fund, because the reason for the expenditure would have to be entered on their books, and as a Brotherhood election was approaching the fact that they had spent money in this way might be used against the officers, all of whom were candidates for re-election. This made it necessary to raise the money in some other way; so each of the fifteen employers consented to give up \$200 more, making \$450 from each man.

"This \$6,750, besides the amount subscribed by the Union Club (believed to have been a total of \$17,000) was turned over to five walking delegates, all voting members of the Board of Building Trades. The result was the admission of the Brotherhood to the Board, and of course, the ruining of the Amalgamated Union. This was a deliberate selling out of a labor union by walking delegates. The Amalgamated strike came to an end at once, and a complete victory was won by the employers.

"There are not only delegates of unions, but also employers, who are corrupt. We know of cases where employers wanted to break their contracts, and in order to do this offered money to delegates to help them out. Other employers were doing their work in a crooked way and bribed delegates to keep quiet.

"There are a few of our delegates who will accept these bribes, but most of them are loyal to their unions. This court of investigation probably will show up just as many crooked employers as it does union men."

This interview was shown to King, of the press committee of the Builders' Association, who said it was correct, and that there were undoubtedly crooked builders. The association, he said, hoped that the investigation would bring out all the facts.

The charges against Carvel were made by Thomas Hopper, Vice-President of Isaac A. Hopper & Son.

In his affidavit Hopper says that in November, 1902, his company was constructing the Lutheran Evangelical Church, at the northwest corner of Sixty-fifth street and Central Park West. A strike had been called on the work, owing to a disagreement with one of the subcontractors on the work. He says he then received a visit from Carvel at his office, who intimated that the strike might be settled for three or four hundred dollars.

The charges against Carvel were made by the Hayden Company, No. 520 Fifth avenue; Potter & Stymis, No. 375 Lexington avenue; Herts Bros., No. 507 Fifth avenue; Kimball & Sons, No. 437 Fifth avenue; Allard & Sons, 8437 Fifth avenue; T. D. Waddleton, No. 109 Fifth avenue; Lowenstein & Sons, No. 383 Fifth avenue; Newman & Co., No. 375 Fifth avenue; Herter & Co., No. 507 Fifth avenue; W. & J. Sloane, No. 848 Broadway; the Tiffany Studio, No. 333 Fourth avenue; Peter Tauchard, No. 173 Clinton street, Brooklyn.

If it can be shown that this money was paid to the walking delegate as initiation fee and was turned into the board, why there is nothing criminal about it. But if this money went into the hands of the walking delegates, and stayed there, it is a larceny."

Of such are the conditions prevailing in the building world and such are the antics of the labor fakirs which have been "dignified" by the Kangaroo Social Democratic party of many names, with the title of "noble waging of the class struggle." Out upon such rotteness and the cowards who cringe to the rotten element! Build up the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. that the eyes of the workers may be opened and their fighting spirit trained in the right direction.

"When I told him I did not think it

was safe," says the deponent, "Carvel said: 'Oh, that's all right, thousands of dollars have been received by the bartender in the same way.' Hopper says that Carvel then went to the telephone and gave orders that settled the strike, and the men were all back at work in a few days.

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WOMAN UNDER SOCIALISM

By AUGUST BEBEL

Translated from the Original German of the Thirty-

Third Edition

By DANIEL DE LEON

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PART II.

WOMAN IN THE PRESENT—Continued.

As to the effect that marriage and celibacy exercise upon the mind, the following figures furnish testimony. In 1882, there were in Prussia, per 10,000 inhabitants of the same conjugal status, 33.2 unmarried male and 29.3 female lunatics, while the percentage of the married ones was 9.5 for men, and 9.5 for females, and of the widowed, 32.1 males, and 25.6 females. Social conditions can not be considered healthy, that hinder a normal satisfaction of the natural instincts, and lead to evils like those just mentioned.

The question then rises: Has modern society met the demands for a natural life, especially as concerns the female sex? If the question is answered in the negative, this other rises: Can modern society meet the demands? If both questions must be answered in the negative, then this third arises: How can these demands be met?

"Marriage and the family are the foundation of the State; consequently, he who attacks marriage and the family attacks society and the State, and undermines both"—thus cry the defenders of the present order. Unquestionably, monogamous marriage, which flows from the bourgeois system of production and property, is one of the most important cornerstones of bourgeois or capitalist society; whether, however, such marriage is in accord with natural wants and with a healthy development of human society, is another question. We shall prove that the marriage, founded upon bourgeois property relations, is more or less a marriage by compulsion, which leads numerous ills in its train, and which fails in its purpose quite extensively, if not altogether. We shall show, furthermore, that it is a social institution, beyond the reach of millions, and is by no means that marriage based upon love, which alone corresponds with the natural purpose, as its praise-singers maintain.

With regard to modern marriage, John Stuart Mill exclaims: "Marriage is the only form of slavery that the law recognizes." In the opinion of Kant, man and woman constitute only jointly the full being. Upon the normal union of the sexes rests the healthy development of the human race. The natural gratification of the sexual instinct is a necessity for the thorough physical and mental development of both man and woman. But man is no animal. Mere physical satisfaction does not suffice for the full gratification of his energetic and vehement instinct. He requires also spiritual affinity and oneness with the being that he couples with. Is that not the case, then the blending of the sexes is a purely mechanical act; such a marriage is immoral. It does not answer the higher human demands. Only in the mutual attachment of two beings of opposite sexes can be conceived the spiritual enabling of relations that rest upon purely physical laws. Civilized man demands that the mutual attraction continue beyond the accomplishment of the sexual act, and that it prolong its purifying influence upon the home that flows from the mutual union." The fact that these demands can not be made upon numberless marriages in modern society is what led Barnhagen von Ense to say: "That which we saw with our own eyes, both with regard to contracted marriages and marriages yet to be contracted, was not calculated to give us a good opinion of such unions. On the contrary, the whole institution, which was to have only love and respect for its foundation, and which in all these instances (in Berlin) we saw founded on everything but that, seemed to us mean and contemptible, and we loudly joined in the saying of Frederick Schlegel which we read in the fragments of the 'Atheneum': Almost all marriages are concubinages, left-handed unions, or rather provisional attempts and distant resemblances at and of a true marriage, whose real feature consists, according to all spiritual and temporal laws, in that two persons become one." Which is completely in the sense of Kant.

The duty towards and pleasure in posterity make permanent the love relations of two persons, when such really exists. A couple that wishes to enter into matrimonial relations must, therefore, be first clear whether the physical and moral qualities of the two are fit for such a union. The answer should be arrived at uninfluenced; and that can happen only, first, by keeping away all other interests, that have nothing to do with the real object of the union,—the gratification of the natural instinct, and the transmission of one's being in the propagation of the race; secondly, by a certain degree of insight that curbs blind passion. Seeing, however, as we shall show, that both conditions are, in innumerable cases, absent in modern society, it follows that modern marriage is frequently far from fulfilling its true purpose; hence that it is not just to represent it, as is done, in the light of an ideal institution.

How large the number is of the marriages, contracted with views wholly different from these, can, naturally, not be statistically given. The parties concerned are interested in having their marriage appear to the world different from what it is in fact. There is on this field a state of hypocrisy peculiar to no earlier social period. And the State, the political representative of this society, has no interest, for the sake of curiosity, in initiating inquiries, the result of which would be to place in dubious light the social system that is its very foundation. The maxims, which the State observes with respect to the marrying of large divisions of its own officials and servants, do not suffer the principle to be applied that, ostensibly, is the basis of marriage.

Marriage—and herewith the bourgeois idealists also agree—should be a union that two persons enter into only out of mutual love, in order to accomplish their natural mission. This motive is, however, only rarely present in all its purity. With the large majority of women matrimony is looked upon as a species of institution for support, which they must enter into at any price. Conversely, a large portion of the men look upon marriage from a purely business standpoint, and from material viewpoints all the advantages and disadvantages are accurately calculated. Even with those marriages, in which low egotistical motives did not turn the scales, raw reality brings along so much that disturbs and dissolves, that only in rare instances are the expectations verified which, in their youthful enthusiasm and ardor, the couple had looked forward to.

And quite naturally. If wedlock is to offer the spouses a contented conjugal life, it demands, together with mutual love and respect, the assurance of material existence, the supply of that measure of the necessities of life and comfort which the two consider requisite for themselves and their children. The weight of cares, the hard struggle for existence—these are the first nails in the coffin of conjugal content and happiness. The cares become heavier the more fruitful the marriage proves itself, i.e., in the measure in which the marriage fulfills its purpose. The peasant, for instance, is pleased at every calf that his cow brings him; he counts with delight the number of young that his sow litters; and he communicates the event with pleasure to his neighbors. But the same peasant looks gloomy when his wife presents him with an increase to his own brood—and large this may never be—which he be-

lieves to be able to bring up without too much worry. His gloom is all the thicker if the new-born child is a girl.

We shall now show how, everywhere, marriages and births are completely controlled by the economic conditions. This is most classically exemplified in France. There, the allotment system prevails generally in the country districts. Land, broken up beyond a certain limit, ceases to nourish a family. The unlimited division of land, legally permissible, the French peasant counters by his rarely giving life to more than two children,—hence the celebrated and notorious "two child system," that has grown into a social institution in France, and that, to the alarm of her statesmen, keeps the population stationary, in some provinces even registering considerable retrogression. The number of births is steadily on the decline in France; but not in France only, also in most of the civilized lands. Therein is found expressed a development in our social conditions, that should give the ruling classes cause to ponder. In 1881 there were 937,057 children born in France; in 1890, however, only 888,059; accordingly, the births in 1890 fell 98,998 behind the year 1881. Characteristic, however, is the circumstance that the number of illegitimate births in France was 70,079 for the year 1881; that, during the period between 1881 and 1890, the number reached high-water mark in 1884, with 75,754; and that the number was still 71,086 strong in 1890. Accordingly, the whole of the decline of births fell exclusively upon the legitimate births. This decline in births, and, we may add, in marriages also, is, as will be shown, a characteristic feature, noticeable throughout the century. To every 10,000 French population, there were births in the years:

1801.....333	1841.....282	1868.....269
1821.....307	1851.....270	1886.....230
1831.....303	1866.....261	1890.....210

This amounts to a decline of births in 1890, as against 1801, of 114 to every 10,000 inhabitants. It is imaginable that such figures cause serious headaches to the French statesmen and politicians. But France does not stand alone in this. For a long time Germany has been presenting a similar phenomenon. In Germany, every 10,000 population there were births in the years:

1869.....406	1883.....358
1870.....403	1887.....369.4
1880.....390	1890.....357.6

Accordingly, Germany too reveals, in the space of only 21 years, a decline of 40 births to every 10,000 inhabitants. Similarly with the other States of Europe. To every 10,000 population there were live births:

States.	From 1863-1867.	From 1886-1888.	Decrease.	Increase.
Ireland	262	231	31	..
Scotland	353	313	40	..
England and Wales	353	314	39	..
Holland	388	344	44	..
Belgium	320	293	27	..
Switzerland	320	278	42	..
Austria	374	360	..	6
Hungary	309	445	..	46
Italy	378	371	7	..
Sweden	320	297	23	..
Norway	344	308	36	..

The decline in birth is, accordingly, pretty general, only that, of all European States, it is strongest in France. Between 1886 and 1888 France had, to every 1,000 inhabitants, an average of 23.9 births, England 32.9, Prussia 41.27, and Russia 48.8.

These facts show that the birth of a human being, the "image of God," as religious people express it, ranks generally much cheaper than newborn domestic animals. What this fact does reveal is the *unworthiness* condition that we find ourselves in,—and it is mainly the female sex which suffers thereunder. In many respects, modern views distinguish themselves but little from those of barbarous nations. Among the latter, newborn babes were frequently killed, and such a fate fell to the lot of girls mainly; many a half-wild race does so to this day. We no longer kill the girls; we are too civilized for that; but they are only too often treated like pariahs by society and the family. The stronger man crowds them everywhere back in the struggle for existence; and if, driven by the love for life, they still take up the battle, they are visited with hatred by the stronger sex, as unwelcome competitors. It is especially the men in the higher ranks of society who are bitterest against female competition, and oppose it most fiercely. That working men demand the exclusion of female labor on principle happens but rarely. A motion to that effect was made in 1877, at a French Labor Convention, the large majority declared against it. Since then it is just with the class-conscious workmen of all countries, that the principle, that working-women are beings with equal rights as themselves, makes immense progress. This was shown especially by the resolutions of the International Labor Congress of Paris in 1889. The class-conscious workingman knows that the modern economic development forces woman to set herself up as a competitor with man; but he also knows that, to prohibit female labor, would be as senseless an act as the prohibition of the use of machinery. Hence he strives to enlighten woman on her position in society, and to educate her into a fellow combatant in the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat from capitalism. True enough,—due to the ever more widespread employment of female labor in agriculture, industry, commerce and the trades—the family life of the workingman is destroyed, and the degenerating effects of the double yoke of work for a living, and of household duties, makes rapid progress in the female sex. Hence the endeavor to keep women by legislative enactments, from occupations that are especially injurious to the female organism, and by means of protective laws to safeguard her as a mother and rearer of children. On the other hand, the struggle for existence forces women to turn in ever larger numbers to industrial occupations. It is married woman, more particularly, who is called upon to increase the meager earnings of her husband with her work,—and she is particularly welcome to the employer.¹¹

Modern society is without doubt more cultured than any previous one, and woman stands correspondingly higher. Nevertheless, the views concerning the relations of the two sexes have remained at bottom the same. Professor L. von Stein published a book,¹²—a work, be it said in passing, that corresponds ill with its title—in which he gives a poetically colored picture of modern marriage, as it supposedly is. Even in this picture the subaltern position of woman towards the "lion" man is made manifest. Stein says among other things: "Man deserves a being that not only loves, but also understands him. He deserves a person with whom not only the heart beats for him, but whose hand may also smooth his forehead, and whose presence radiates peace, rest, order, a quiet command over herself and the thousand and one things upon which he daily reveres: he wants someone who spreads over all these things that indescribable aroma of womanhood, one who is the life-giving warmth to the life of the house."

In this song of praise of woman lies concealed her own degradation, and along therewith, the low egotism of man. The professor depicts woman as a vaporous being, that, nevertheless, shall be equipped with the necessary knowledge of practical arithmetic; know how to keep the balance between "must" and "can" in the household; and, for the rest, float zephyr-fashion, like sweet spring-tide, about the master of the house, the sovereign lion, in order to spy every wish from his eyes, and with her little soft hand uncurl the forehead, that he, "the master of the house," perchance himself crumpled, while brooding over his own stupidity. In short, the professor pictures a woman and a marriage such as, out of a hundred, hardly one is to be found, or, for that matter, can exist. Of the many thousand unhappy marriages; of the large number of women who never get so far as to wed; and also of the millions, who, like beasts of burden beside their husbands, have to drudge and wear themselves out from early morn till late to earn a bit of bread for the current day,—of all of these the learned gentleman knows nothing. With all these wretched beings, hard, raw reality wipes off the poetic coloring more easily than does the hand the colored dust of the wings of a butterfly. One look, cast by the professor at those unnumbered female sufferers, would have seriously disturbed his poetically colored picture, and spoiled his concept. The women, whom he sees, make up to a trifling minority, and that these stand upon the plane of our times is to be doubted.

And quite naturally. If wedlock is to offer the spouses a contented conjugal life, it demands, together with mutual love and respect, the assurance of material existence, the supply of that measure of the necessities of life and comfort which the two consider requisite for themselves and their children. The weight of cares, the hard struggle for existence—these are the first nails in the coffin of conjugal content and happiness. The cares become heavier the more fruitful the marriage proves itself, i.e., in the measure in which the marriage fulfills its purpose. The peasant, for instance, is pleased at every calf that his cow brings him; he counts with delight the number of young that his sow litters; and he communicates the event with pleasure to his neighbors. But the same peasant looks gloomy when his wife presents him with an increase to his own brood—and large this may never be—which he be-

lieves to be able to bring up without too much worry. His gloom is all the thicker if the new-born child is a girl.

An oft-quoted sentence runs: "The best gauge of the culture of a people is the position which woman occupies." We grant that; but it will be shown that our so much vaunted culture has little to brag about. In his work, "The Subjection of Woman,"—the title is typical of the opinion that the author holds regarding the modern position of woman—John Stuart Mill says: "The lives of men have become more domestic, growing civilization lays them under more obligations towards women." This is only partly true. In so far as honorable conjugal relations may exist between husband and wife, Mill's statement is true; but it is doubtful whether the statement applies to even a strong minority. Every sensible man will consider it an advantage to himself if woman step forward into life out of the narrow circle of domestic activities, and become familiar with the currents of the times. The "chains" he thereby lays upon himself do not press him. On the other hand, the question arises whether modern life does not introduce into married life factors, to a higher degree than formerly, act destructively upon marriage.

Monogamous marriage became, from the start, an object of material speculation. The man who marries endeavors to wed property, along with a wife, and this was one of the principal reasons why daughters, after being at first excluded from the right to inherit, when descent in the male line prevailed, soon again reacquired the right. But never in earlier days was marriage so cynically, in open market, so to speak, an object of speculation; a money transaction, as it is to-day. To-day trading in marriage is frequently conducted among the property classes—among the propertyless the practice has no sense—with such shamelessness, that the oft-repeated phrase concerning the "sanctity" of marriage is the merest mockery. This phenomenon, as everything else, has its ample foundation. At no previous period was it, as it is to-day, hard for the large majority of people to raise themselves into a condition of well-being, corresponding to the then general conceptions; nor was at any time the justified striving for an existence worthy of human beings so general as it is to-day. He who does not reach the goal, feels his failure all the more keenly, just because all believe to have an equal right to enjoyment. *Formally*, there are no rank or class distinctions. Each wished to obtain that which, according to his station, he considers a goal worth striving for, in order to come at fruition. But many are called and few are chosen. In order that one may live comfortably in capitalist society, twenty others must pine; and in order that one may wallow in all manner of enjoyment, hundreds, if not thousands, of others must renounce the happiness of life. But each wishes to be of that minority of favored ones, and seizes every means, that promises to take him to the desired goal, provided he does not compromise himself too deeply. One of the most convenient means, and, withal, nearest at hand, to reach the privileged social station, is the *money-marriage*. The desire, on the one hand, to obtain as much money as possible, and, on the other, the aspiration after rank, titles and honor thus find their mutual satisfaction in the so-called upper classes of society. There, marriage is generally considered a business transaction; it is a purely conventional bond, which both parties respect externally, while, for the rest, each often acts according to his or her own inclination. Marriage for political reasons, practiced in the higher classes, need here to be mentioned only for the sake of completeness. With these marriages also, as a rule, the privilege has tacitly existed—of course, again, for the husband to a much higher degree than for the wife—that the parties keep themselves seatless, *outside of the bonds of wedlock*, according as their whims may point, or their needs dictate. There have been periods in history when it was part of the *bon ton* with a Prince to keep mistresses: it was one of the princely attributes. Thus, according to Scherer, did Frederick William I. of Prussia (1713-1740), otherwise with a reputation for steadiness, keep up, at least for the sake of appearances, relations with a General's wife. On the other hand, it is a matter of public notoriety that, for instance, August the Strong, King of Poland and Saxony, gave life to 300 illegitimate children; and Victor Emanuel of Italy, the *re galantomo*, left behind 32 illegitimate children. There is still extant a romantically located little German residence city, in which are at least a dozen charming villas, that the corresponding "father of his country" had built as places of recreation for his resolute mistresses. On this head thick books could be written: as is well known, there is an extensive library on these piquant matters.

The inside history of most of the German princely courts and noble families is to be informed an almost uninterrupted *chronique scandaleuse*, and not infrequently has it been stained with crimes of blackest dye. In sight of these facts, it certainly is imperative upon the sycophantic painters of history, not only to leave untouched the question of the "legitimacy" of the several successive "fathers and mothers of their country," but also to take pains to represent them as patterns of all virtues, as faithful husbands and good mothers. Not yet has the breed of the augurs died out: they still live, as did their Roman prototypes, on the ignorance of the masses.

In every large town, there are certain places and days when the higher classes meet, mainly for the purpose of match-making. These gatherings are, accordingly, quite fitly termed "marriage exchanges." Just as on the exchanges, speculation and chaffier play here the leading role, nor are deception and swindle left out. Officers, loaded with debts, but who can hold out an old title of nobility; *roues*, broken down with debauchery, who seek to restore their ruined health in the haven of wedlock, and need a nurse; manufacturers, merchants, bankers, who face bankruptcy, not infrequently the penitentiary also, and wish to be saved; finally, all those who are after money and wealth, or a larger quantity thereof, government office-holders among them, with prospects of promotion, but meanwhile in financial straits;—all turn up as customers at these exchanges, and ply the matrimonial trade. Quite often, at such transactions, it is all one whether the prospective wife be young or old, handsome or ugly, straight or bent, educated or ignorant, religious or frivolous, Christian or Jew. Was it not a saying of a celebrated statesman: "The marriage of a Christian stallion with a Jewish mare is to be highly recommended!"¹³ The figure, characteristically borrowed from the horse-fair, meets, as experience teaches, with loud applause from the higher circles of our society. Money makes up for all defects, and outweighs all vices. The German penal code punishes¹⁴ the couple with long terms of imprisonment; when, however, parents, guardians and relatives couple their children, wards or kin to a hated man or woman only for the sake of money, of profit, of rank, in short, for the sake of external benefits, there is no District Attorney ready to take charge, and yet a crime has been committed. There are numerous well organized matrimonial bureaus, with male and female panders of all degrees, out for prey, in search of the male and female candidates for the "holy bonds of matrimony." Such business is especially profitable when the "work" is done for the members of the upper classes. In 1878 there was a criminal trial in Vienna of a female pander on the charge of poisoning, and ended with her being sentenced to fifteen years in the penitentiary. At the trial it was established that the French Ambassador in Vienna, Count Bonneville, had paid the pander 12,000 florins for procuring his own wife. Other members of the high aristocracy were likewise highly compromised through the trial. Evidently, certain Government officials had left the woman to pursue her dark and criminal practices for many years. The "why" thereof is surely no secret. Similar stories are told from the capital of the German Empire. During recent years,

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888.....	2,060
In 1892.....	21,157
In 1896.....	36,564
In 1900.....	34,191
IN 1902.....	53,617

FREE SPEECH.

Elsewhere in this issue will be found the announcement of the decision of the Appellate Division of the Court of Appeals of this State confirming the decision of the Amsterdam, N. Y., court that sentenced three members of the Socialist Labor Party for speaking in the open air.

It was in the days when the saffron colored press and pulpit was inciting the populace to riot. McKinley had been assassinated. That was the opportunity of every interest in the land that lived on the sweat of Labor's brow to blacken Socialism in the public esteem. Of course, the onslaught was directed against the Socialist Labor Party. Its speakers were hounded. That none was lynched was a miracle. As an official declaration of war ever unchains the social beasts that had been forced to lie low, and gives them "carte blanche" to commit murder, the assassination of McKinley was utilized by the Beast of Capitalism as a pretext to drop the mask of humanity and to step out in its true colors. Of course such conduct utterly failed to intimidate the S. L. P. men. All others who had been claiming to be Socialists of various degrees of "butts" crept into holes, and waited for the storm to blow over. The S. L. P., however, being no "fair weather craft," breasted the storm alone. If, indeed, terrorism can silence the speech of Movement; if indeed, the terrorizers find their game succeeds—then terrorism feels encouraged, and will not let up. The S. L. P. bearded the beast.

The trial of the three S. L. P. men, whom the popinjay of the Social Democratic party of this State claimed as its members from the safe hole into which it had crept, was a result of the terrorism that capitalist interests had set on foot. The trial, of course, went against them; and now, dodging the issue, the Appellate Division confirms the fines.

For all that, the S. L. P. won out. No blow struck for Right, no stand taken for Freedom ever is lost. In these instances the organized capitalist brigandage that rules the country failed absolutely—their judgments of conviction notwithstanding. The S. L. P.'s position, valiantly maintained by its members, and brilliantly expressed in the briefs of Party's Counsellor, Benjamin Patterson, and published elsewhere in this issue, are of the nature that resists rebuffs, and will ever be reassured.

THE POOR MANUFACTURER!

Mr. Milton P. Higgins, president of the Norton Emery Wheel Company, of Worcester, Mass., wept several tears before the Training Department of the National Educational Association of Boston on the 9th inst. The tears were dropped in the course of an address delivered by him on "Education for the Trades." To sum up the allegations of fact and the conclusions of Mr. Higgins on the sorrows and troubles that beset the manufacturers, himself among the lot no doubt, this is the state of things:

Skillful workmen are rare; they are so rare that the manufacturer often has to give good pay to "an untidy, coarse, ignorant, profane and drunken" fellow if he is a skillful man. The reason of it is that education is faulty. Manual training in the schools has brought no help. It only lays a broad foundation for a better manhood, but what the manufacturer stands in need of is not "broad foundations," "better manhood" and all that sort of thing, but skilled workmen, men who have received a proper education for the trades. Schools for technical training have proved failures, what they turn out is not available. No better are engineering colleges. A manufacturer, "after he

has filled with entire satisfaction all the important engineering positions in the factory with efficient technical engineering graduates, still finds his unmet need for skilled workmen as great as ever."—Due to such distressing conditions, Mr. Higgins weeps for the manufacturers, the sorely tried darlings.

It is obvious that what really troubles Mr. Higgins is to find good men cheap. That's the sum and substance of his jeremiad. The graduates of the technical and engineering schools, of whom there are more than jobs for, would make good skilled workmen, but they want higher pay than the skilled workmen that Mr. Higgins is after. This being the real fact, sympathy with Mr. Higgins and his fellow manufacturers is out of place. They are themselves to blame. Had they been less vociferous in floating the lie "plenty of room above," these graduates would not have gone as numerously into the technical and engineering schools; less training would have done, and they could now be overstocking the "skilled workmen" market to Mr. Higgins' heart's content. Their present absence from that market, wider knowledge, and greater pretensions are all due to the Higginses.

But these gentlemen need not fret. For a while things will be hard for them. But not long. Soon the market will be overstocked with these graduates. When that day comes their "pretensions" will have come down, and then Mr. Higgins and his brother manufacturers, reversing the experience of the Pharaohs, will have a fat season after the lean. After having been compelled "to give good pay" to "untidy, coarse, ignorant, profane and drunken" fellows because they were skilled workmen and there were not enough of them, they will then be in condition to give what pay they may please to the tidiest, gentlest, most trained, Sunday-schoolish and total abstainers of graduates: they will find all they want of these goods; they will be able to take their pick and will then make up for the present "hard time" they are having.

In the meantime, of course, poor manufacturers!

THE CASE OF CONGRESSMAN LITTAUER.

Due in a great measure to the circumstance that Congressman Littauer and President Roosevelt are chums, the Littauer case is making a sensation. It is fortunate that it does. It helps emphasize one of the many absurdities of capitalist society.

Mr. Littauer is a glove manufacturer, and he is a Congressman; furthermore the army and navy need gloves. Where outside of Paradise or the Elysian fields, is it imaginable that a man so situated will not seek to secure the Government as a customer?

Why does Mr. Littauer make gloves? For his health? Surely not. Is it that he has an artist's eye and love for beauty of the human hand? Certainly not. He took to gloves as readily as he would have taken to shoe laces, or rails, or eggs, had the circumstances that surround him, at the time he "chose" his occupation, promised larger returns from shoe laces, rails, or eggs. In other words, Mr. Littauer lives in a social system whose practical morality is "do others or you will be done." It alters nothing in the case that Mr. Littauer approves of and upholds such a social system as the only one that combines the ideal with the practical on earth. The fact is that such is the social system, and furthermore that the very Government that now decides to "probe" his case, and to punish him if, despite the law, he, a Congressman, did business with the Government, upholds such a system.

Third, but even in these respects, obvious as they are, the complete landing of the fish is not as palpable as in those passages where it is "denied in toto" that labor is the sole producer of wealth. It is in this that the fish is landed. We are not told who it is that produces wealth. Even the landed fish knows enough to be silent on that. It would not do to say that the silver mine barons, who live on the sweat of the brow of their miners, and then have them shot down, either produce or help to produce wealth; it would not do to say that the small farmer, who engages farm-hands and not infrequently does not pay them at all, and who pays them so trifling a wage for so short a season that they become tramps the moment they are discharged and then are chased away with dogs, is the producer of wealth; not but that the master of the house, the employer, is the producer of wealth. It is in this that the fish is landed.

All that labor has to do is to elect

legislative and other committees, made up of these politicians and their cronies, station them at Washington and other places to lobby and to dicker, i. e., intensify political corruption, and capitalist domination, and quicker than you can say "Jack Rabbit!" the courts, legislatures and congresses will cease to be dominated by the trust magnates, and the triumph of labor will be secured! In few words, the way to do a thing is to promote those things that will prevent you from doing it, i. e., if labor wishes to succeed politically all it has to do is to promote the very means by which it is defeated!

Who says "Nonsense on the Labor Question" isn't well named? Out on such nonsense! Oppose to it the teachings of the class-conscious press and literature of the Socialist Labor Party—teachings which point out that the working class must emancipate itself and that in order to do so it must organize to capture the powers of state and utilize them in overthrowing capitalism and instituting Socialism.

the bogus Trust, and that these three Greenes, a veritable Trinity, were—who? Just one person, to wit, General-Police Commissioner Greene. Thus there were three Greenes, with nothing green about them but the name.

People who are merely theoristers in Socialism will be amazed at such a spectacle. Not that the turpitude of the triple Greene and yet non-green transaction would astonish them. Not that. They are sound on the understanding of capitalist "morality." What will amaze is that a reputed capitalist and rich man should be driven to such shifts. There is nothing amazing about it.

Few if any capitalists stand upon firm ground. They all stand on banana peels; the only thing that stands unchanged is the capitalist class. Among themselves, the members of that class wage such a murderous competitive battle that most of them—considering their needs, so as to keep up appearances and their "credit"—may be truly said to live from hand to mouth;—not results Asphalt Trusts, etc., etc.

Who would bestow his energies to keep a social system that begets such ulcers above, and the want and privation below, that are the share of the masses?

Who would spend his forces to beat down an Ice Trust Tammany with an Asphalt Trust "Good Government"?

Not a day passes but the capitalist system, together with its political agencies, roar out to the working class and to all decent citizens:

"Down with capitalism and its political parties! Up with Socialism!"

NONSENSE ON THE LABOR QUESTION.

There is a book being circulated that is so full of bad logic, contradictions, half-truths and whole lies, as to earn for it the title, "Nonsense on the Labor Question." For instance, Politicians are denounced as frauds who make promises so that no sensible man will trust them. They are purchaseable and corrupt. Then it is shown that, with regard to the trust magnates, or "monopolists" that "Courts, Legislatures and Congresses are afraid of them."

Now, one who is not a crook himself,

would conclude that since politicians are untrustworthy and corrupt, and courts, legislatures and congresses are dominated by trust magnates that the working class cannot obtain any legislative or other aid to advance its interests from those same politicians, courts, legislatures and congresses. Does the author of "Nonsense on the Labor Question" so conclude, and so concluding, does he advise the working class to form a political party of its own, and elect honest men to office, in order that it may dominate those courts, legislatures and congresses in the interest of the working class?

The hypocritical author of "Nonsense on the Labor Question," true to his clerical antecedents, with eyes filled with crocodile tears for the sufferings of the working class, advises its members to entrust their interests to those very politicians, courts, legislatures and congresses!

All that labor has to do is to act

directly and openly, but indirectly and secretly. All that labor has to do is to influence these politicians—the men who make promises that no sensible man will trust, and are bought by the corporations—with their votes, and presto! all the bones of the political paradise become black!

All that labor has to do is to elect

legislative and other committees, made up of these politicians and their cronies, station them at Washington and other places to lobby and to dicker, i. e., intensify political corruption, and capitalist domination, and quicker than you can say "Jack Rabbit!" the courts, legislatures and congresses will cease to be dominated by the trust magnates, and the triumph of labor will be secured!

In few words, the way to do a thing is to promote those things that will prevent you from doing it, i. e., if labor wishes to succeed politically all it has to do is to promote the very means by which it is defeated!

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throwing capitalism and instituting

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THE FISH IS LANDED.

For some time the Populist Lincoln, Neb., "Independent" has been "taking falls" out of the attitude of Socialism on money. Its conduct in the matter very much resembled that of a veteran fish that would not take hold too hard of the alluring bait, knowing that there was a hook inside. It nibbled and pulled away. Finally, however, it bit, and well, with the result that we now have the fish landed.

In its issue of last June 25, and under the head "Independent School of Political Economy," the paper publishes over the signature of Charles Q. de France what purports to be an answer and refutation of the Socialist Labor Party pamphlet "Money." We may leave Mr. Q. de France aside, and deal with Mr. Independent de Nebrasque, seeing that the latter makes the answer its own.

First, considerable space is spent in

the article with tiresome iterations of the statement that "legal tender" has "nothing whatever to do with exchange." Seeing that the said pamphlet "Money" spends considerable space, not in STATING but in PROVING that very thing—that the "legal tender" feature of money is one thing, its "medium of exchange" another—all these statements are superfluous.—The landed fish that flops landward and not waterward but utterly wastes its energies: the further it goes in that direction the worse for it.

Second, another chunk of space is taken up with the assertion that "the power of the 'tender' exists nowhere in the United States outside of the public offices and the courts," and with supplemental assertions that "[legal tender] has to do with paying taxes and cancelling judgments rendered in the courts." Proof is hereby furnished of a fact, which to mention even in terms the most courteous one can think of sounds offensive, but which nevertheless must be mentioned. That fact is that the "free coinage" is ignorant of facts, and, consequently, can not choose but fall into error. When a tenant, a mortgagee, a drawer of a note that becomes due, a purchaser on credit—in short, any one who assumes a money obligation that matures at a future date—lays down before, tenders to his creditor the amount due, the creditor is bound to accept the payment in cancellation of the debt. IF THE MONEY TENDERED IS PRONOUNCED "LEGAL TENDER" by the Government, if, in such a case, the creditor, for whatever reason, refuses to accept, suspects the money, or what not, HE CANNOT SUE AND HAS TO PAY THE COSTS.

The reason it that tender, legal tender, was made to him. All these transactions happen out of court, they do not concern "public offices," they have nothing to do with "taxes," there is no "canceling of judgments" about them. Of course, "legal tender" figures in these latter and governmental transactions also, but for every one that it figures there, it figures fully a hundred times in those others mentioned above, where the transaction is purely private,—and there is no "voluntary adaptation" about it.

Now, one who is not a crook himself, would conclude that since politicians are untrustworthy and corrupt, and courts, legislatures and congresses are dominated by trust magnates that the working class cannot obtain any legislative or other aid to advance its interests from those same politicians, courts, legislatures and congresses.

While this is going on "upstairs," what is seen "downstairs"? The letter-carriers are ranked under two categories: the first class receive \$1000, the second receive \$850 as the highest possible. Even the wages of the first class are inhumanly low. The employees in such an institution are exploited. Both classes have been trying to get a raise—the first, to \$1200; the second, to \$1000. In the course of their efforts, the first class has discovered that its chances would be endangered if the second class succeeds; and vice versa the second class: The P. O. being animated by the breath of capitalism, seeks to leave the large profits for the railroad companies and the large salaries for the upper officers: a rise in the wages of the letter-carriers would reduce the revenues of railroads and upper officers: consequently there is little or no inclination to help the letter-carriers: finally, breathing in this spirit, the letter-carriers divide—each of the two classes pulling for itself, and seeking to keep back the other, as the surest means of increasing its own chance!

That is the spectacle that the P. O. is now presenting; a spectacle to be abhorred;—a spectacle that cannot cease until capitalism ceases.

The ground-work of a Socialist institution is the absence of economic classes. Whatever institution is reared on economic classes, whatever its external form may be—as far as Socialism is concerned,—is no better than a whitened sepulchre.

What is the difference between a Littauer "dividing profit over the figure 1.55" with the Government, or a Congressman, interested in leather for manufacture, seeking to use the Government to lower the tariff; or another Congressman, who raises leather as a new product, seeking to use the Government to raise the tariff on leather? Casuists may find a difference. There is none in morals.

It is an absurdity to build a government on the principle of placing wolves in charge of sheep. Such is capitalist government. Individual ownership of the means of production sets man against man. The government, born of such a state of things, cannot exercise morality. Morality in its mouth can only be hypocritical.

Mr. Littauer did not go to Congress for the fun of it. Not one in a hundred Congressman does. There is nothing to probe in Littauer that is not to probe in ninety-nine out of every hundred officials. They are capitalists; it is their government; they use it—which of them does not?

Shame on the Volkszeitung for a thankless, soulless corporation! Just think of it, this is the way in which it disposes of one of its paladins in the 1899 taxation discussion, the paladin whose letter, pronouncing the Volkszeitung "brilliant and convincing," was at the time given a leading space—leading enough almost to eclipse Statistician Jones, with his "\$500 taxes a year paid by the workingman's family"—this is the way:

"DETECTIVES AFTER GROSSMAN..

"Chicago, July 6.—Detectives of the three largest insurance companies in the country are hunting here for Rudolph Grossman, who, in order to escape a five-year sentence in the penitentiary of New Jersey, skipped from the East. It is stated that Grossman was insured in the New York Life, Mutual Life and Equitable Life Insurance Company, for \$10,000 each. It is alleged that a short time ago his relatives, claiming he had committed suicide, demanded the insurance. They could not furnish satisfactory proof of his death, and the matter was put in the hands of detectives."

It is said that republicans are thankless. This may or may not be so, but one thing is pat—that the Volkszeitung corporation is a thankless dog. That is not the way to treat a voucher of one's "brilliance" and "convincing" powers. Shame!

Can it be that Grossman is trying to get his per capita of those \$500 taxes?



BROTHER JONATHAN.—I'd like to know upon what principle Socialists claim that the working class should have all the wealth, and the capitalist class none.

UNCLE SAM.—Upon the very simple principle that the working class does all the work of production and the capitalist class does none.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

A Telegrapher's Fourth of July Declaration.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—I am a telegrapher of thirty-five years' work in a toil of hell, going ahead just as a crab crawls. At twenty years of age I got \$75 a month (1876), and now, at 47, with six of a family, I get but \$60, and my "prosperity" is not in my pay envelope, but in increased rent and cost of living, and the difference between real earnings and what should be my "share" is made up by my sons working and wife renting out rooms.

I reside in a city that has the reputation of being great, yet it has a city government absolutely purchased for cash last February—(see McClure's Magazine for May, "Pittsburg, the City Ashamed")—and for the past twenty-five years was in the clutches of a political "king," C. L. Magee (now dead), but "Long live the King"—Thomas S. Bigelow is his successor, yet Pittsburg is about as contended and corrupt as the City of Brothery Love. (See July McClure's). How long will the American people be mere sheep jumping to the lead of Quay, Hanna, Platt, Addicks, Cleveland (the coming American "Diaz," la Mexico)?

As an old telegrapher, I read The Weekly People of June 27 with great interest, as it's a true and real picture—too mild—but your fifteen-year telegrapher is not personally able to realize the misery of the thirty-five to fifty year veterans, who are compelled to pound typewriters all day on a constant strain, with a noise similar to that of a boiler-making shop; and, if a victim of the turn-out-to-die policy of the Western Union is cut off from the new pension plan of the Postal, because he has worn out life in a rival's employ.

I am a member of an organization of old telegraphers: Old-Time Telegraphers' and Historical Association (1,000 members), of which Andrew Carnegie is a member, and John Brant, of Western Union, 195 Broadway, N. Y., is secretary, and was in employ of Andrew Carnegie's old firm for five years, and although while in Carnegie Steel Company's employ here as clerk contracted physical troubles since resulting in the awful disease of locomotor ataxia (spinal), both he personally (to two appeals) and his friend Schwab has ignored my asking for help for medical treatment, so I am virtually sentenced to life of perpetual torture amid a world of church Christian and imitations of men.

It was McFadden's "Cry for Justice" that first turned my mind to Socialism, that had for twenty-five years been having great difficulty in choosing between two evils—the "fake" political parties; the "leader" party of Republicans and the Democratic party that is not democratic (all men on a common level).

I am a member of the Union of Telegraphers of which you refer to in "The Telegrapher" article, but I am simply for the same reason I belong to our local aid society (pay 30 cents month dues, dollar day if sick).

The Western Union had a "spy" in our union and it resulted in the discharge of twenty-five Western Union operators. The Postal took care of them. Almost all men and women in the Postal are victims of Western Union. All the "big" men of both telegraph companies are members of our brotherhood of old men, but that don't save us from discharge on the slightest pretext.

I, at forty-seven, have been labor slave for thirty-five years. I was born May 9, 1856. I was the eldest of twelve—six boys, six girls. My ancestors were Irish, and all had big families.

I left public school at twelve to help my father in his drug store and telegraph office. Taught my brother (to strike out for myself) telegraphy and left home in 1875 and was manager of the Western Union Telegraph office at Foxburg, Clarion County, Pa. (oil regions), eighty-five miles up the Allegheny River from Pittsburgh, Pa., during the campaign of the Hayes-Tilden election, just a boy of twenty, at a salary of \$75 a month, but taking no part in politics, for even at that early day I could not see any choice between the two evils—the party originally a Lincoln free men's organization, degenerated into a party of "leaders," with a following of "sheep," and the party that is not a pure democracy—all on a common level.

In my thirty-five years' industrial service to railroads, telegraph companies and Carnegie Steel Company (five years), I have had many hard and unjust "knocks" from official tyranny and from industrial slave drivers. Patrick R. Dillon, of Carnegie Steel Company, in 1893 told me (after cutting my pay from \$75 to \$40 a month, after five years' service) "that it did not make a damned bit of difference to me whether \$40 a month will keep your family of six or not," and, at this time, Andrew Carnegie was passing as a philanthropist, paying a quarter of a million dollars to victims of the then existing panic, he had about 5,000 men at work on the city parks at a dollar a day.

This event put me back to telegraphy with the Western Union till 1901, when another Irish brother (who classes the telegrapher in two divisions: those that get drunk on pay days and those having swelled heads—self-importance) "fired" me for going to the baths at Mount Clemens.

After walking the streets of this great city and my family only prevented

from starving by a brother Mason paying rent and living expenses, the Postal Telegraph management employed me at a pay rating reduction of \$20 a month, but by good work I have had a raise to \$80, with extra work of \$10 a month, but Sunday is my one day of heaven rest. Six days of work pounding type writer with one finger of one hand (spinal trouble effect) is all the hell I desire in this life (and don't believe in any hell in any life to come ~~for~~ death).

The freedom that man has on this earth is much an imaginary article, and the Fourth of July celebration suggests, "What fools ye mortals be." The days of '76 were far different from 1903—76 Fighting Kings, 1903 "flirting" with kings (Germany and England). If the common people do not soon own the earth there will be a universal revolution. The burden on our backs will become so heavy we can't stand it any longer, and the mule will kick off the load and be free—let us hope, forever; free in every way, no slavery or bondage, mentally or physically, men not monkeys.

Pittsburg, Pa., July 4.

Preaching the Only Gospel for Working-men—The Gospel of Socialism.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—About three weeks ago, when subscribing for The Weekly People, I told Agent Paterson to notify you that I would not renew my subscription for the Daily for the coming year. The reason why I part with The Daily is because I think the Weekly is more beneficial to me in my present condition.

Close near the Swedish settlement in this city there is a wooded hill, where my countrymen (Swedes) go for an airing on Sundays. We take advantage of this to preach the only gospel for workingmen—the gospel of Socialism—and have thereby earned the enmity of all the good people in town, because we are running counter to different sky pilots, who want the field to themselves.

Now, to read and digest the Daily, and get my "sermon" ready, taxes my brain, which is pretty well used up by my master; more than I can afford. Hence I find the Weekly better for my purpose; hence also my decision to subscribe for it only.

This is a hard place to work; but just now the stalwarts are in high glee: there is a rift in the clouds. Arbuten got 50 subscribers in the last four weeks from here; and next Sunday, the 12th inst., a Scandinavian S. L. P. will be formed with 23 members.

Yours on the firing line,
G. L.
Worcester, Mass., July 8.

To the Lowell Readers of The Daily, Weekly and Monthly People.

Fellow Workers: As you are aware, the S. L. P. of Massachusetts has elected Wm. H. Carroll, of Boston, for State Organizer, and have sent him out on a tour of the cities and towns of the State, speaking for the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. As the members of the S. L. P. are few and the expense to keep a State Organized permanently in the field will come near one hundred dollars a month, we, as voters and sympathizers, who read the party's papers and books, but are not members, should fall to and contribute funds to keep the Organizer working for our freedom, and to tell the wage workers what the S. L. P. and S. T. & L. A. will do for them.

Fellow workers, at the last state election the city of Lowell cast over one hundred votes for the Socialist Labor Party, which showed that that number believed in what that party stands for; and, as the members are all workers, they don't receive one cent for keeping the party alive from any capitalist, labor fakir or political crook; every cent comes from the members who earn them by the sweat of their brow and hard toil in mill, shop, mine, etc.

Now, fellow workers, what I want to impress on you is this: Many of you in Lowell and other cities and towns in the state of Massachusetts are readers of The Daily, Weekly and Monthly People, but you never contribute one cent to help the party along. Most every readers could well afford, at least, ten cents a week, and I am sure, small as this amount is, it would pay all expenses of the State Organizer; so wake up, workmen of Lowell and other Massachusetts cities and towns. Send in your dimes and quarters to James Stevens, 17 Lynde street, Boston, Mass.

P. M. B., BOSTON, MASS.—The broad-based ignorance of the capitalist journalists keeps them proof against any knowledge that may endanger their jobs. Policemen, sent to guard Socialist meetings, have been known to learn some thing; the capitalist press reporter never.

T. P., AKRON, O.—Yes; yes. They say all sorts of things about the S. L. P., and another set of all sorts of things against the S. L. P. man. But these gentlemen are exactly like those weaklings who go about harping on "life's dullness" and on "man's meanness," of whom it has been said that with them it is one of two things: either the cry of the blind eye, "I cannot see," or the complaint of the dumb tongue, "I cannot utter." Post yourself on the Socialist Movement.

G. S., NEW YORK.—The first answer given above answers your question on the Single Tax. If you have anything else in mind, come again.

A. B. H., ROCKLAND, ME.—The "Peacock Horrors" told about the South will have to be watched cautiously. They sound and look suspicious. They look and sound as if instigated by northern mill owners to deprive their Southern competitors of the cheap labor they now enjoy. The near future will tell. At any rate, the practice should be abolished, even tho' its abolition do no more good than the abolition of chattel slavery.

L. G. P., COLUMBUS, O.—By all means, read the Bible. Take the King James translation. You will learn good English. You will come across gems of thought and feeling. You will, especially if you simultaneously read some systematic treatise on ancient societies, find many interesting scraps of history. What is worthless in the book you can easily discard.

L. L., WESTERLY, R. I.—The Catholic Transcript forgets that Catholicism is also an ism. So it had better be careful how it denounces "isms."

The Catholic Transcript will have to refer its readers to the original of Vandervelde's speech, so that the intelligent ones may verify the Transcript's citations.

Fellow workers, readers and sympathizers of Lowell, the time is ripe to work for the Alliance, dead ripe; and, if the State Organizer can be supported, it would be a good plan to keep him in

Lowell for two or three weeks, going around mills and machine shops, where the wage slaves work 30 years and receive \$7.50 per week; or up at the bobbin shop, where big, strong men work for 70 cents per day.

Fellow workers, let's hear from you. I pledge myself for \$1.00 per month. Who will be the next to follow? Come, hustle all you readers and see if we can't raise enough to keep Carroll busy. Yours, for the better time.

John F. Kane.
Lowell, Mass., July 5.

LETTER-BOX**Off-Hand Answers to Correspondents.**

A. C., NEW YORK.—The Single Tax does not make any distinction between agricultural and city land. It does not because it does not recognize fertility as an element. It considers locality only. A shop, for instance, located in a certain place where crowds pass, is on "better land" than another. And so it is, and its rent will be accordingly. The same as to agricultural land. If this fact is closely looked at, this other fact will transpire: that the pivot on which the single tax revolves is not land, as usually supposed, but commerce. Remove commerce, that is remove individual production and exchange, and the Single Tax theory of rent collapses.

J. A. W., PITTSBURG, PA.—The literature sent to you will have enlightened you by this time. That crowd that you went up to the Monongahela River with, and which "did not favorably impress" you, is not in any way connected with the Socialist Labor Party. Having met them and sized them up it is not necessary to say any more about them.

S. J., ST. PAUL, MINN.—As to the book on "Anti-Semitism," you will see it has been reviewed. As to the other by Kautsky, it has not yet been read.

W. Y. H., CHICAGO, ILL.—The answering of a question may, at times, do the questioner more harm than good. It accustoms him to read slowly, or not at all. This is an instance in point. That particular point happens to be covered in the "Woman Under Socialism" installment that appeared in the Weekly of last June 30, 2d col., 2d paragraph from the bottom. Get it; read it.

G. L., EL PASO, TEX.—Some, not many, but some of the so-called Socialist party agitators and writers will learn: they are reading The People now. As to the others, there is little hope for them. They imagine their recently breached acquaintance with Socialism is full knowledge. Such will never improve.

D. F., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—It is a good test of man's understanding of what the hour requires when he thoroughly appreciates, and thoroughly circulates the leaflet "The Difference." It won't do to allow freaks or crooks to reap where the S. L. P. has sowed. The masses must be enlightened on who the gentlemen of the Social Democratic party are. Enlighten them incessantly!

L. M., CINCINNATI, O.—It was on last 3d of July. The Social Democrats of this city called a mass meeting at Cooper Union for the superfluous purpose of announcing that their party is but an echo of the German Movement—consequently a ridiculous thing in this country, where capitalism has swept the path clear for Socialism.

P. M. B., BOSTON, MASS.—The broad-based ignorance of the capitalist journalists keeps them proof against any knowledge that may endanger their jobs. Policemen, sent to guard Socialist meetings, have been known to learn some thing; the capitalist press reporter never.

B. B., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—The tuning-fork by which to test the pitch of a Movement is the discipline a Movement imposes upon itself and enforces.

A. C., ST. LOUIS, MO.—The list omits

of the most important bits of work that the Socialist Labor Party is doing. The S. L. P. is not merely teaching tactics; it is not merely "setting the example of the sturdiness that is needed"; the S. L. P. is doing something else besides: it is placing the Movement where it is becoming out of the power of any individual, or set of them to harm or derail it. This is essential. Some through vanity, others through malice, others in pursuit of petty self there ever will be who are attracted by a Revolutionary Movement. Their qualities render them dangerous. There is no such things as constitutional provisions against such anarchistic elements. Nothing will protect a Movement against such small souls but its own robustness. When such elements learn that it is useless to try their monkey shins with the Party, they will not attempt to, and they may then even develop into useful elements. The S. L. P. is doing that work to perfection.

V. F. K., HOLLAND, MICH.—Article on Woodworking Industry will be utilized. Send on basket-making article.

W. J., SPRINGFIELD, MASS.—Your matter having appeared in The People, it was not necessary to acknowledge receipt in these columns. Receipt is acknowledged only of matters received of which is not obvious.

F. T., PORTLAND, ORE.; D. W. D., OMAHA, NEB.; F. H., TRENTON, N. J.; S. P. T., PITTSBURG, PA.; J. J., SCRANTON, PA.; T. B., NEW YORK; H. F., HOBOKEEN, N. J.—Matter received. Send on.

E. M., DAYTON, O.—Did that dog real-

ly bark? Why, we didn't know it. The boom of the S. L. P. guns drowns all such petty noises.

D. K. B., EVERETT, WASH.—Thomas A. Hickey was employed at this office as a reporter. He was discharged for incompetence, loafing and drunkenness. Shortly after that he was expelled from Section New York, Socialist Labor Party, for misappropriating party funds and for disorderly conduct toward the Section Hickey and his congeners, wherever they happened to have alighted, declared he would mop the earth with the Section and be speedily reinstated with flying colors. Thereupon the Section, before whom there was an application to reopen Hickey's case, took deliberate aim, and applying the toes of its square shoes to Hickey, gave the gentleman a kick with such precision and vigor that he went bumpity-bumping across the continent, and never stopped rolling until landed in the arms of Dr. Titus of the "Seattle Socialist"—where he belongs.

No amendments have been sent in, hence the original proposition is the only thing to be voted on. For the reports of the vote, blanks will accompany this call containing the questions to be voted on.

Secretaries of State Committees will convey the call and the voting blanks to their respective Sections and members-at-large.

For the National Executive Committee, S. L. P.,

GENERAL VOTE**On the Proposition of Section Everett, Mass., to Amend the Party Constitution.**

New York, July 6, 1903.

To the Sections of the Socialist Labor Party.

Greeting:—The time set for amendments to the proposition of Section Everett, Mass., having expired, the said proposition is herewith submitted to a general vote and the Sections of the S. L. P. are called upon to have their members take such vote before September 12, 1903, on which date the reports must be in the hands of the undersigned.

No amendments have been sent in, hence the original proposition is the only thing to be voted on. For the reports of the vote, blanks will accompany this call containing the questions to be voted on.

Secretaries of State Committees will convey the call and the voting blanks to their respective Sections and members-at-large.

I advise Comrade Koehlin and others to cease their abuse of Section Everett and study the question. And now, comrades, it is duty we owe to the wage-working class, ourselves included, to repair this mistake and stand out firm as a Revolutionary Socialist organization.

Abram Miller.

Malden, Mass., July 1.

Newark, N. J., July 6.

To the Members of the Socialist Party—Comrades: We, the undersigned members of Section Essex County, N. J., S. L. P., desire to inform you that we endorsed the Everett amendment and shall vote for the same, for a number of reasons, a few of which are:

1. If Socialism stands for anything, it stands for the complete overthrow of capitalism.

2. Economic organizations are in their life and essence craft and graft organizations and, as such, will very likely retard the progress of Socialism.

Realizing that, in order to bring about the emancipation of the wage-working class, the Socialist Labor Party must rest its principles and tactics on a scientific and unshakable foundation, and, having this point in view, Section Everett lays before you the following facts and asks you to give them your earnest consideration. The class-conscious members of the wage-working class have found by bitter experience, as well as observation, that, on the economic field, their chances against those of the capitalist class in the form of lockouts, strikes, boycotts and blacklisting are nil. We conclude from this, their weapons being useless, trade unions themselves are useless. Therefore, it is a waste of time to attempt to check the development of capitalism. The purpose of trade unions to stay capitalist development, places them in the same category with reform movements. Therefore, in order to bring this matter to a referendum vote of the party, in accordance with Art. V., Sec. 7, part h, of the National Constitution, we ask your endorsement of the following:

F. T. P., SAGINAW, MICH.—There is little, if any, danger that Austria or even Russia would come to the aid of the German Kaiser if his Empire were threatened from within. But the vote in Germany shows that the Empire is safe—for a while yet. It is, however, the fear that that "while" may come about sooner than comfortable; that causes the Imperial press to now hold the language they do. Before that they were correctly saying that the Social Democracy had been "remodeled," had "become practical," had "learned reason from Edward Bernstein," etc., etc. When they now yell against it as Socialist, when they are simply trying to raise a bugaboo to frighten their neighbors. But that will not work. On the other hand, the fact of those are at the door who are about to bring about some interesting developments in Germany.

F. T. P., SAGINAW, MICH.—There is little, if any, danger that Austria or even Russia would come to the aid of the German Kaiser if his Empire were threatened from within. But the vote in Germany shows that the Empire is safe—for a while yet. It is, however, the fear that that "while" may come about sooner than comfortable; that causes the Imperial press to now hold the language they do. Before that they were correctly saying that the Social Democracy had been "remodeled," had "become practical," had "learned reason from Edward Bernstein," etc., etc. When they now yell against it as Socialist, when they are simply trying to raise a bugaboo to frighten their neighbors. But that will not work. On the other hand, the fact of those are at

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Secretary, J. W. Weltzel, 226½ Queen street, London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City. (The Party's literary agency.)
Notice—For technical reasons no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p.m.

National Executive Committee.

Meeting held Friday, July 10, at 2-6 New Reade street, J. Hammer in the chair. Absent with excuse, Kinneally; without excuse, A. Klein. The financial report for the week ending July 4 showed receipts, \$82.40; expenditures, \$36.00. Comrade E. C. Dieckmann, of St. Louis, Mo., the secretary of the Mo. S. E. C., was present as a visitor. A special committee, composed of Kinneally and Schmidt, and appointed for the purpose of forming a committee to provide for the raising of an agitation fund, reported progress. The committee was urged to take the work in hand without delay.

Communications: From San Antonio, Tex., reporting good work in Galveston, Tex., where meetings have been held and subscribers gained for the Party press. From Cleveland, O., reporting election of officers and other matters. From Los Angeles, Cal., upon matters of Auxiliary League; also stating that a lampoon had been received from one Roman R. Holler, of Newark, N. J. From Troy, N. Y., asking that Comrade Lyon speak at their meeting. Attended to and Lyon going. From Collinsville, Ill., on effects of the flood in that district, the same interfering with work in the mines and with agitation. From Lincoln, Neb., reporting election of new set of officers; also depicting local conditions. From Newark, N. J., reporting that the section had decided to publish in The People its reasons for endorsing the Everett proposition. From Baltimore, Md., reporting premature vote on Everett proposition. From Milwaukee, Wis., reporting election of new secretary of S. E. C. Also letters from Winnipeg, Can.; New Orleans, La., and other places upon a variety of subjects.

Since no amendments had been received to the Everett proposition, the same was sent out for a vote as originally submitted, the vote to close on Sept. 12, 1903. After a general discussion the meeting adjourned.

Edward C. Schmidt, Recording Secy.

Massachusetts S. E. C.

The State Executive Committee of Massachusetts held its regular meeting on Sunday, June 28, 1903, with John R. Oldham, of Lynn, in the chair. All delegates were present except Helliwell, Miller and Ferguson, of Somerville, Malden and Everett, respectively.

Communication from J. F. Jennings, of Endicott, inclosing money for due stamps, Organizer Fund and subscriptions to party press.

Communications were received from A. E. Jones, of Everett; John Howard, J. F. Maloney, August Percheron, declining nominations on State ticket; from T. P. Brennan, of Salem; Morris Rutherford, of Holyoke, accepting nominations for Governor and Lieutenant Governor, respectively; from Organized Carroll, asking information; Berry, declining nomination for Greater Boston Organizer and accepting invitation to speak at Scandinavian Socialist Club picnic, to be held at Amory Grove, Roxbury, on July 11, 1903, for the benefit of the State Organizer Fund; from O'Fihely, on local conditions and asking for information.

Election Law Committee reported progress and would have final report at next meeting.

Agitation Committee reported State Organizer in Holyoke and procured 4,000 flyers for him to advertise his meetings.

Daily People Fair Committee reported \$321.04 as gross profits for Daily People on Washington State Committee plan and \$107.01 for Arbataren.

Secretary was instructed to explain reasons to Smith, of Marlboro, why he cannot become member-at-large, as he is an officer in a pure and simple trades union.

John R. Oldham was elected as permanent chairman of the committee.

Comrades Ryan and Tracy tendered their resignations as Recording Secretary and Financial Secretary-Treasurer, respectively, and the Secretary was instructed to send out call for nominations to fill vacancies.

Comrade Frank Keefe, of Lynn, was elected Organizer for Greater Boston.

John R. Oldham was elected speaker for Scandinavian Socialist Club picnic to be held on Labor Day.

The State Executive Committee voted to hold its meetings at 10:30 a. m. hereafter instead of 3 p. m.

Comrade Farrell, of Lowell, appeared before the committee and gave a synopsis of conditions in Lowell to the delegates.

Comrade Frank B. Jordan, of Lynn, appeared before the committee in compliance with request of committee and satisfactorily explained why he could not go on the road for the State Executive Committee and why he did not speak, as advertised, at Scandinavian Socialist Club picnic.

The committee decided to leave State Organizer Carroll in Springfield district for two weeks more. John W. Ryan, Secretary.

**FOR OVER SIXTY YEARS
An Old and Well-Tried Remedy.**
MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP
BOTTLED FOR OVER SIXTY YEARS.
MILLION AND MILLION OF CHILDREN HAVE BEEN SOOTHED BY THIS SOFTENING SYRUP.
IT SOOTHES THE CHILD, SOFTENS THE GUM, ALLAYS THE PAIN,
AND IS THE SOOTHERING REMEDY USED BY DOCTORS IN EVERY PART OF THE WORLD.
Be sure and ask for
MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP,
AND TAKE NO OTHER KIND.
Every Five Cents a Bottle.

Twin City Excursion.

The sixth annual steamboat excursion given by Sections St. Paul and Minneapolis, Socialist Labor Party, will take place Sunday, July 26, going to Prescott and Lake St. Croix, with steamer J. J. Hill and barge.

Excursion leaves Minnehaha Falls, 9 a. m.; St. Paul, 11 a. m.; returning to St. Paul about 10 p. m.

Fare for round trip, 50 cents.

Children under 12 years, accompanied by parents, free. Only excursion this summer by the S. L. P.

Branch Elizabeth's Entertainment.

At the entertainment held by Branch Elizabeth, S. L. P., Saturday, July 11, at Dahmen's Hall, prizes were distributed as follows: First prize, \$10 in gold, Mrs. M. Samer; second prize, mahogany rocker, Amos Vroom; third prize, silk umbrella, Louis Fish; fourth prize, lemonade set, David Acastor; fifth prize, parlor lamp, Hugo Rothe; sixth prize, box of cigars, Alb. Giffen.

The Committee.**Call for State Nominating Convention.**

To the Sections of the S. L. P., New York State:

Comrades—Pursuant to the call of the New York State Executive Committee, you are called upon to make nominations for delegates to represent you at a State Convention to be held at 2-6 New Reade street, New York City, on September 5, 1903, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for judge of the Court of Appeals.

The basis of representation is one delegate from each section and one additional delegate for every five hundred votes or a major fraction thereof falling within its jurisdiction at the last gubernatorial election.

Harvey A. Sante, Secretary S. E. C., July 6, 1903, New York City.

Syracuse Doing.

At the last section meeting, July 2, the following officers were elected for the ensuing six months: Organizer, James Trainor; trustees, Grady, Kleinhaus and John R. Ryan; secretary-treasurer, Wm. McArdle; grievance committee, Grady, Phillips and Ryan; recording secretary, E. Montague. The meeting was well attended. One new member was admitted.

We have just put out a fine large sign that was donated by one of the comrades. We needed it very badly. We start in our out-door meetings this week and everything looks good for a lively campaign.

James Trainor, Organizer, Syracuse, N. Y., July 4.

Daily People Birthday Fund.

Previously acknowledged, \$10; J. Libberg, St. Paul, Minn., \$30; Geo. Anderson, Salinas, Cal., \$1; F. A. Olpp, City, \$8. Total, \$31.30.

AS TO THE PARTY PRESS.

I. A. C. Kuhn, Dear Comrade—Enclosed find postoffice money order for \$20 and also application for Daily People certificate.

Our Section has only ten members, but shall see to contribute our proportionate share toward freeing the Party press from its indebtedness.

Within a fortnight we shall buy one certificate sure, perhaps two.

Fraternally yours, J. White, Salem, Mass., June 22.

II. A. C. Kuhn, Dear Comrade—I will return the vouchers as there is no other comrade here. You will find enclosed postoffice money order for \$20 for twelve months loan at no interest. —J. B. Ferguson, Tuolumne, Cal., June 19.

III. A. C. Kuhn, Dear Comrade—Enclosed find money order for the amount of \$20 for a loan certificate from Peter Beil. I am pleased to state that we have promise of some more soon. It is quite encouraging to see the determination of the members to clear off the debt and I am satisfied that it will be done. Yours for the S. L. P., C. A. Johnson.

Minneapolis, Minn., June 22.

IV. A. C. Kuhn, Daily People Finance Committee, Dear Comrade—Enclosed please find money order for \$40, with two applications for Daily People certificates. Will have some for you in a short time. With wishes of success, I am fraternally yours, George Anderson, Collector.

Los Angeles, Cal., June 19.

V. Comrade Kuhn, Dear Sir—Enclosed find application for Daily People loan certificate and money order for \$20 for same. This is No. 1. I hope that we will be able to secure more.

We have had quite a struggle with the police here as you know. We stood it all ourselves and it was quite a pressure on us. That is the reason you have not heard from us before this. But we stand in with them now. Emanuel Hauk.

Buffalo, N. Y., June 23.

Carl Starkenberg.

The Ohio Daily People Fund.

Herman Alzahn, \$2.50; Ed. Keim, \$2.50; Paul Dinger, \$2; David Hochwald, \$2; F. Malmsten, \$2; L. Finn, \$1; S. Friedland, \$2, and R. Koepel, \$1. Total, \$17.

Cleveland, O., July 6. Fred Brown.

S. T. & L. A. NEWS.

The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance of the United States and Canada; headquarters, Nos. 2, 4 and 6 New Reade street.

General Executive Board meets the second and fourth Thursday evenings of each month, at 7:30 o'clock, at above address.

All information as to organization and the aims and objects of the S. T. & L. A. will be gladly sent by mail on request.

Speakers will be furnished to address labor and trade organizations, as well as sections of the S. L. P., on new trades unionism.

(Special Correspondence to the Daily and Weekly People.)

Haverhill, Mass., June 26.—The Evening Clarion, of this city, publishes the following long statement regarding the speech boomer William R. Hearst, that John C. Chase, "Socialist" ex-Mayor, is reported to have made at Norfolk, Va. This statement, while it relates mainly to that speech, is also valuable in so far as it exposes Chase's "trade union" record, and holds the "English poodle of the Volkszeitung," better known as "The Worker" up to contempt and scorn for indulging in the "peasants" principles so characteristic of its German sponsor. Here is the statement, with headlines and all, as printed in the Clarion:

"Affidavits Prove Unreliability of John C. Chase's Statements."

"Socialist Speaker Told a Reporter What He Would Say and Then Said Something Else."

"The following editorial from the 'Labor Compendium' of St. Louis, the official organ of the National Building Trades Council, gives the lie to the Hon. John Calamity Chase of this city, and incidentally proves that the statements made by the Criterion and Sunday Record have always adhered strictly to the truth in commenting on the real purpose of Chase's lecture tour in the interest of trade unionism." The article below will explain itself:

"Not long ago ex-Mayor Chase, of a New England town, who is stumping the south in the interest of the social party and telling workingmen that he, as executive, gave a boom to unionism in his town (when, as a matter of fact, he did nothing of the sort and never even joined the union of his craft—shoe workers)—until he was obliged to in order to secure a position as salesman for a shoe factory), delivered an address in the Building Trades Council hall at Norfolk, Va."

The subterfuge which constituted part of the war cry was justice, and the franchise to the Uitlander, but all that is now changed, and in place of extending the franchise it is to be withheld from all except white British subjects. This is how those bold, generous patriots and lovers of fair play and justice keep their promises to the people!

The aforementioned facts all show how little labor figures in the beneficial results of the war. Yet, "the most unkindest cut of all," as far as the common people of England is concerned, is the shameful betrayal of the trust reposed in the Tory-Unionist War party, who were returned to power on a wave of war patriotism in the closing days of the struggle, when victory rested with the British forces in South Africa. Being returned by an overwhelming majority on the war issue, they took advantage of their power and position and set back the clock of progress by giving back into denomination (church) hands the education of the young, which had been previously attended to largely by the nation. In other words, replacing a national system of education by a religious or denominational one. Doubtless this had been arranged for as a reward for the church's enthusiastic support of the war policy, and further to safeguard in the future the united interests of capital and the church. This is how the lack of class-consciousness on the part of the workers continually frustrates every effort toward emancipation.

"In reply, Mr. Chase denied that he had delivered the statements attributed to him by the Norfolk correspondent, and thereupon the Worker and other sheets of its ilk charged Mr. Hearst as having himself written the story, and of being a liar, evidently presuming that Mr. Chase's support was so very valuable and so much depended on it that it must be had, even if it had to be faked."

"It turns out that Mr. Chase is himself responsible for the statements sent out by the Norfolk correspondent.

"Every public speaker in the United States knows that reporters obtain from them, in advance, sometimes a week in advance, synopses of speeches they are to deliver. In no case does a reputable speaker mislead the reporter by telling him that he is going to say something he does not intend to say.

"When approached by Mr. W. P. Moore, reporter of the Virginia Pilot, for a synopsis of his address to be given that evening, Mr. Chase gave the synopsis with a distinct understanding that it was a synopsis of the address he intended to deliver that evening. The following affidavits are a clear indication that the ex-mayor deliberately tricked the correspondent, for the purpose of creating timber for editors of Socialist papers. Additional proof of this deliberate trickery will be found in the failure of the said papers to give space to expose, as they did to Chase's denial. Here are the affidavits:

"This is to certify that Mr. Chase, when approached by me in front of the Unionist office in this city and asked for a synopsis of his speech and his opinion of Hon. William Randolph Hearst, as an advocate of the laboring man's rights and possible candidate for the Presidency, said:

"The New York American and its big-hearted proprietor, William R. Hearst, is the best friend the American working man ever had. His millions were not made by greed, and he pays his employees according to their work."

"When asked would he repeat those words before an audience in the chamber of the Builders' Trade Council that night, he said he would, and taking him at his word, I sent it up, and a short synopsis of the rest of his speech, to the New York American for publication.

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(Signed) H. P. MOORE.

April 20, 1903.

"Mr. H. P. Moore has personally appeared before me and sworn to this statement as true."

"Given under my hand this 4th day of May, 1903.

(Signed) ARLINGTOM L. IVES.

"Notary Public, Norfolk, Va.

"My commission expires December 31, 1906.

"This is to certify that I was standing in the office of the Unionist in this city, when Mr. Moore approached Mr. Chase and heard their conversation. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the words attributed to Mr. Chase, in the enclosed article, were spoken by him.

(Signed) CHAS. A. MEARS.

"Advertising Solicitor for the Unionist."

"April 18, 1903.

"Subscribed and sworn to this day, the 4th of May of the year 1903. Mr. Charles A. Mears has personally appeared before me this day."

"Given under my hand this 4th day of May, 1903.

"My commission expires December 31, 1903.

(Signed) ARLINGTOM IVES."

"Cleveland, O., July 6. Fred Brown."

HEARST AND CHASE**"SOCIALIST" EX-MAYOR'S SPEECH DECLARED TRUE BY REPORTER.**

Latter Makes Amendation That Chase Boomed Hearst in a Synopsis of a Speech Given Out by Him to the Press, in the Customary Manner.

(Special Correspondence to the Daily and Weekly People.)

Haverhill, Mass., June 26.—The Evening Clarion, of this city, publishes the following long statement regarding the speech boomer William R. Hearst, that John C. Chase, "Socialist" ex-Mayor, is reported to have made at Norfolk, Va. This statement, while it relates mainly to that speech, is also valuable in so far as it exposes Chase's "trade union" record, and holds the "English poodle of the Volkszeitung," better known as "The Worker" up to contempt and scorn for indulging in the "peasants" principles so characteristic of its German sponsor. Here is the statement, with headlines and all, as printed in the Clarion:

"Affidavits Prove Unreliability of John C. Chase's Statements."

"Socialist Speaker Told a Reporter What He Would Say and Then Said Something Else."</p